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## DEBATE ON THE SUGAR DUTIES.

If slavery had no existence in any part of the world, we should feel it to be our duty to advocate the introduction of all foreign productions, whether of the field or of the mine, whether in the form of the raw or the manufactured article, on equal terms with those from our own colonies and possessions abroad. This we should feel bound to do, on the ground of justice to the community at large; and because we believe it to harmonise with the intimations of Divine Providence, and to be in accordance with the teachings of the sacred Scriptures. At the same time we should as strenuously advocate the removal of all restrictions on the commerce of our colonies, leaving them perfectly unfettered in the selection of their markets; reduce the duties levied on their productions until they finally disappeared, as have the duties on corn; and diminish the imperial or local burdens on these possessions to the lowest point compatible with the general efficiency of the public service. We would, in other words, give them a fair field for the development of their industry and resources, but would show them no favour, being fully persuaded that protection, under such circumstances, would enfeeble them, prove costly to the mother country, and be ultimately injurious to the special interests it was meant to defend.

But, whilst we would place all free countries on an equal footing in the British markets, we would exclude from them the productions of those raised by the barbarous and iniquitous agency of slavery and the slave-trade, upon the same principle that we interdict the admission and sale of the plunder of the pirate and robber. We cannot consent to place the productions of free and slave labour on the same level; they represent totally opposite ideas—the one being the result of unconstrained industry, receiving its appropriate reward; the other being the result of the most atrocious violence and wrong ever perpetrated against humanity. To put no difference between the productions of free and slave labour—to place them both in the category of free-trade—is to desecrate it, and to confound the everlasting distinction between right and wrong, virtue and vice, righteousness and sin. The principles of free-trade, when applied to things honest and honourable, are worthy of all countenance and support; but when applied to things dishonest and dishonourable, they are perverted from their legitimate use, and should be steadfastly opposed and condemned by all who prefer the great interests of humanity and freedom to the supposed exigencies of commerce.

But it is said, that to make the distinction for which we contend is to create a "moral tariff" for the government of the nations in their intercourse with each other. We do not presume to do this; but we affirm that He, whose authority is paramount, and whom we profess to revere—the great Moral Legislator of the Universe—has done it for us. He requires of communities, as well as of individuals,—for communities are but aggregations of individuals,—the practice of universal justice and benevolence; and wherever the moral sense is not blunted by the violation of this law, or blinded by self-interest, His commands will be honoured and obeyed. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is a precept of universal obligation. The measure and rule of our duty to our neighbour will be found in its fellow-precept, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." Now, corporations and nations are no more exempt from the obligation to fulfil these precepts, than are the particular individuals who compose them. To assert the contrary, would be to deny that nations, as such, are responsible for their actions, which would, in effect, be to deny the moral law altogether. If it be admitted that slavery is a sin, then every facility we give for its perpetuation is sinful. To

condemn the sin, whilst we countenance the sinner—to launch our indignant invectives against the barbarous cruelties inflicted on the slave, whilst we enrich the master by the purchase of the produce wrung from him by the cart-whip—to preach a homily on the wickedness of reducing human beings to the condition of property, whilst we furnish the incentive and the means to the perpetration of this giant iniquity, is something worse than inconsistency—it is sheer hypocrisy. No wonder that other nations will not give the people of this country credit for elevated sentiment and real philanthropy, when they perceive its Government and its legislature ever ready to sacrifice the freedom and welfare of the oppressed Africans to the extension of commerce. In opposition to the current doctrine of the day, we maintain that morals must dominate commerce, and not commerce control morals; and we believe the time is coming when "righteousness," which alone "exalteth a nation," will regulate and adorn the intercourse of "every people, and kindred, and tribe, and tongue," with each other.

Anxious as we have always been for liberty of commerce, we never could consent that that liberty should be permitted to degenerate into licentiousness. We have, therefore, always been careful to distinguish between free and slave labour, and to contend that commerce, to be legitimate, should be governed by moral considerations, and directed to noble ends. As a matter of commercial policy, the late Mr. Deacon Hume, one of the most distinguished of modern free-traders, said—

"I cannot conceive that, having thirty years ago abolished the slave-trade, and having now abolished slavery itself, any question of free-trade can arise between Jamaica and Cuba; Cuba, with an abundance of rich and fresh soil, not only having the advantage of employing slaves, whatever that may be, but notoriously importing the enormous amount of 40,000 or 50,000 slaves every year. They have, in fact, the slave-trade and slavery; and as the laws of this country have deprived the planter in Jamaica of that means of raising his produce, that is a question, like several others, TAKEN ENTIRELY OUT OF THE CATEGORY OF FREE-TRADE."

The Anti-slavery Society have taken higher grounds than this; they have always argued the question, not with reference to West India interests, whether of the planters or the labourers, though they have never felt indifferent to either, but because of its bearing on the liberty and happiness of mankind. As far back as the early part of the year 1841, when it was understood the Government of Lord Melbourne intended to let the sugars of the Spanish colonies and Brazil into the British markets, the Committee presented a memorial to his lordship, in which they said,—

"But there are some who cannot look on this question as one of mere fiscal arrangement. They regard it as involving great principles and solemn responsibilities. In the relation which it bears to slavery and the slave-trade, the Committee find an argument which appeals with irresistible force to their convictions against it. It is not, and cannot be, a question with them how far the political interests and commercial policy of this country may seem to require the measure; but whether the great principles of universal justice and benevolence may not be compromised thereby. That in Cuba and Brazil, the great slave markets of the Western world, the cupidity of slave dealers will be stimulated to increase the number of their victims, and that the cart-whip of the slave driver will be plied with redoubled energy to extort labour from reluctant bondmen, should the proposed measure be adopted, there can be no doubt; the Committee would, therefore, earnestly deprecate it, as involving a criminal disregard of the liberty and welfare of millions of their fellow-men, and of the sacred obligations of duty to the Most High. The Committee are far from being opposed to the principles of free-trade, in their fair and legitimate application; they are not in favour of monopolies; hence they are desirous of seeing the produce of other countries, raised by



free labour, introduced into this; but they conceive that, to admit the produce of slave labour into the British market, would, under present circumstances, give a bonus to slaveholders, supply a fearful impetus to the nefarious traffic in human beings, and consolidate a system of iniquity, which has been branded with deserved infamy by the people, the legislature, and the Government of this country."

Lord Melbourne's government were defeated on the sugar question, and a new ministry was formed with Sir Robert Peel at its head. The Committee, faithful to the trust confided in them, addressed, in September 1841, a memorial to the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade, in which they say:—

"The Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present Government, through your lordship, with their earnest request that the produce of the tropics, raised by free labour, come from what country it may, should be placed on such a footing in relation to the produce of the British colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same. In further developing their views the Committee beg permission to suggest whether it would not be greatly to the advantage of the revenue to reduce the present duty on sugars and other produce raised in the British possessions in the East and West Indies. Such a measure, combined with the equalisation of the duties on foreign tropical productions of a similar kind raised by freemen, the Committee believe would have the further advantage of greatly increasing the comforts of the poor, of leading to a rapid development of the resources of the British colonies and possessions abroad, and of opening new and extensive markets for our manufactures, whilst it would strike a heavy blow at the atrocious system of slavery, and, consequently, at the slave-trade, wherever it exists, and would operate both as an economical and moral argument in favour of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. The Committee would still further suggest the propriety of removing the remaining restrictions on West India commerce, so as to enable the planters and merchants of our own free colonies successfully to compete with the foreign growers of sugar by slave labour in the continental market. Coupled with a wise and judicious scheme of immigration into our emancipated colonies, which, on the one hand, shall throw open the labour market to fair and honourable competition, and, on the other, shall guard against the abuses which have hitherto marked the course of colonial experiments in this way, and shall be exclusively under the direction of Government, the several measures which the Committee have ventured to suggest, will, they believe, in their combination, be one of the great means for securing the liberty of millions now held in slavery, for terminating the slave-trade, for greatly increasing the prosperity of this country, and for advancing the great cause of universal justice and benevolence, of civilisation and religion, of freedom and peace throughout the world."

We have quoted these extracts to show the grounds on which the Anti-slavery Committee have always opposed the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets, whoever has held the reins of Government, and we feel persuaded that had the West India body, or those who represented that body in this country, taken similar grounds with the Committee, those sugars would never have come in; but this was not their policy. Confiding in certain promises, which have proved illusory, they acquiesced in the Sugar Act of 1846, and when the great struggle came, with two or three exceptions only, the representatives of West India interests in the House of Commons gave their votes for that very measure which has not only most seriously affected the prosperity of the West India colonies, but has stimulated the slave-trade to an enormous extent, and given new life to the system of slavery in the Spanish colonies and Brazil.

The principle for which the Anti-slavery Committee contended in 1841, was embodied in the Sugar Act of 1845, by which provision was made for the introduction of sugars produced by free labour, whilst those raised by slave labour were still prohibited. The only fault we had to find with that Act was, that, instead of equalising the duties on all free sugars, a differential duty of ten shillings per cwt. was established in favour of British sugars, and the old rate of duty of twenty-four shillings per cwt., and five per cent., was still to be continued on those sugars. Had Sir Robert Peel lowered the duties on all free-grown sugars, whether of British or foreign growth, to ten shillings per cwt., we feel persuaded it would have been followed by the happiest results; and that Spain and Brazil, in order to enjoy the advantages of our markets, would have entered into arrangements not only to abandon the slave-trade, but for the termination of slavery itself. In that case the British West Indies could have had no just cause of complaint, which they now have, and a plentiful supply of sugar, at a moderate price, would have been placed within the reach of the people of this country. In connexion with these remarks, we cannot refrain from quoting

the following passage from an elaborate review on the "*African Coast Blockade*," in the January number, for this year, of the *Westminster Review*. The writer, after having admitted the pernicious effects of the Sugar Act of 1846, proceeds:—

"It will ever have to be regarded as a deplorable error of statesmanship, that, previous to our revision of the sugar duties,—with our eyes open to the certainty that we were about to give a great impulse to the slave traffic,—the opportunity was not embraced of stipulating for some such modification of the system of slavery as we have proposed. Ministers no doubt imagined that they had taken sufficient precautions, by the Brazilian Act, to prevent the extension of the traffic. This has proved a delusion; but even if such extension had been prevented, it was a lamentable oversight to do nothing, at such a time, to forward the progressive amelioration of the condition of the slaves of the foreign planter. Perhaps it was through the outcry that was made on the subject of protection to the West India interest, that the voice of reason and humanity could not then be heard. Of the West India interest enough has been said. As against the British consumer, they have not the shadow of a case. They received £20,000,000 in compensation; and if that sum were insufficient, they had thirteen years of protective duties (from the year 1833 to 1846) which, it has been shown, were equivalent to £30,000,000. Here was money enough and time enough afforded to enable them to put their house in order, and prepare for any failure of industry that might arise from foreign competition. But there are higher considerations than those of the West India interests, or than the interests of the British consumer, in regard to cheap sugar and an outlet for our manufactures. Advocates as ye always have been of free-trade, and remain from conviction, it is not a code which comprises with us the whole duty of man. We put this question on precisely the same footing as the Austrian loan denounced by Mr. Cobden. Free trade in money is an excellent thing, but we are not, in our eagerness for six or ten per cent. interest, to make ourselves parties to murder. If we lend our money to a man with the foreknowledge that it is intended for the purchase of a gun with which a murder is to be committed, the blood of the murdered man is upon our heads. Every one may make the application. If we can soften the lot of the slave, raise the condition of some millions of human beings, and prepare them ultimately for the duties and privileges of citizenship, by negotiations, based upon fiscal measures, that shall throw discouragement in the path of those who would perpetuate obstacles to human progress—and by treaties founded upon them, to which all Europe might be made a party, even if those measures influenced opinion no further than as a standing protest against inhumanity—the price of sugar, coffee, cotton, or any other article of slave produce, slightly raised by such restrictions, (and we are not contending for any extreme course, which would defeat itself), ought not to weigh as a feather in the comparison. The most favourable moment has passed by, but it will never be too late for such an experiment while slavery exists. We have committed a mistake, but our laws are not irrevocable. Let us hasten to amend them."

Precisely so; and this has been our great object ever since we were defeated, in 1846, by the combined forces of the Government, the leading West Indians in Parliament, and Sir Robert Peel and his party, who voted against their convictions, for reasons, the force of which we never could appreciate or approve.

The end sought by Sir Edward N. Buxton, in the recent debate on the sugar duties, may be gathered from the terms of his motion, which were as follow:—"That it is unjust and impolitic to expose the free-grown sugar of the British colonies and possessions abroad to unrestricted competition with the sugar of foreign slave-trading countries." On comparing the terms of the motion with those employed when the notice was first placed on the journals of the House of Commons, we find the sense of it much altered. The terms of the original motion were the following:—"That it is unjust and impolitic to expose the free-grown sugar of the British colonies and possessions abroad to competition with the sugar of foreign slaveholding and slave-trading countries." The Anti-slavery Committee felt that they could sustain this form of the motion, though they would have hesitated, for obvious reasons, to have given their sanction to that which was finally submitted to the consideration of the House of Commons. The exclusion of slave-grown sugars, contemplated by the original motion, not protection in any shape or form to the British planter, is the doctrine for which the Committee have always contended, and by which they will abide: And, further, the Committee can make no distinction between slaveholding and slave-trading countries; their hostility applies equally to the produce of both. No doubt the hon. baronet had reasons for the alteration made in the terms of his motion; but the explanation now given is deemed necessary to correct any impression that may exist that the Committee have lowered the ground on which they



have uniformly acted on this important subject. In anticipation of the debate, the Committee transmitted a circular letter to the members of the House of Commons, enclosing a resolution passed at a meeting of the subscribers and friends of the Society, held in London on the 20th of May, against the farther introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets, from which we make the following extract:—

"In forwarding the above resolution, the Committee of the Society would respectfully remind you, that it has been proved before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and declared in their Report, that 'The admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African slave-trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period;' and that this melancholy fact was generally admitted by all parties in the recent debate on Mr. Hutt's motion for the withdrawal of the African squadron. On referring to the tabular statement embodied in the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave-trade, it appears that the average export of slaves from Africa to Brazil and the Spanish colonies, for the six years ending 1845, was 47,255, whereas in 1846 it arose to 76,117, and in 1847 to 84,356. Since that period, according to the best information that can be obtained, it is estimated that the exports of slaves to those countries have ranged from 70,000 to 80,000, though it is believed that the great check given to the consumption of slave-grown sugars in this country, by the Act of 1848, has considerably reduced the demand for additional slaves, both in Cuba and Brazil."

Of course we rejoice at any check given to the impious traffic in human beings; but we can be content with nothing short of its complete extinction; and, certainly, so far as this country is concerned, with nothing less than the abandonment of every legislative and official act which promotes the extension of slavery, and fosters the slave-trade.

In submitting his motion to the House, Sir E. N. BUXTON observed, that though the question was one of great importance to the West India colonies, it was still of greater importance to the interests of humanity; and his object was to consider the question in that light, rather than one of trade or affecting the prosperity of the colonies. He traced the history of the sugar duties from 1841 to 1846, when the Act was passed against which he complained. Though the effects of that measure had been mitigated by the alteration in 1848, whereby the colonists were granted a comparative respite, there was nothing in the condition of the West India colonies which warranted the supposition that when the differential duties were brought to a level, the distress would not be as great as now. He admitted that the British colonies could compete with free countries, but not with Cuba and Brazil, which could recruit their labouring population by the importation of fresh slaves, whom they could work like horses night and day. But, he repeated, it was not the interests of the colonies, but that of humanity, which prompted his motion. If there was one principle which this country had maintained more than another, at home and abroad, it was this—that, having once abolished slavery in our own colonies, it endeavoured to do all that was incumbent on a great and Christian nation, to put it down in other countries; and he hoped the time would never arrive when that principle would be abandoned. Reminding the House of the misery and destruction of life attending the slave-trade, he urged that, if the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil were admitted to free competition with our own sugar, we must make up our minds that we were promoting a system which produced as much misery and degradation as could exist in any human condition, and which was the worst enemy of civilisation, and of the diffusion of the Gospel in Africa.

Mr. WILLIAM EVANS supported the motion, although he had formerly voted for equalising the duties on free and slave-grown sugars. The slave-trade was one which bore no resemblance to any other,—it was a trade in human life, in death, and in cruelty. He could not support a further reduction in the differential duties which at present exist.

Mr. HUME fully agreed in the injustice and impolicy of subjecting the colonies to competition with Cuba and Brazil, without, at the same time, giving them the means of meeting that competition by the importation of African labourers. Let Government buy the slaves who were brought to the African coast for the South American market, and apprentice them for two, three, or four years, with their duties and privileges set forth in the indentures, and magistrates to protect them. Such being, in his view, the best means of meeting the existing difficulties, he moved by way of addition to Sir E. N. Buxton's motion, if agreed to, "That at the same time the British Government interposes difficulties that prevent the colonies from procuring a sufficient supply of free labourers from Africa and other places, that might enable those colonies to compete with foreign slaveholders, and slave-trading nations."

Mr. MANGLES supported Mr. Hume, and made his usual attack on the Anti-slavery Society. He regretted the course which that body

seemed resolved to pursue, and felt himself constrained to oppose their policy.

Colonel THOMPSON considered that the principle of free-trade was never intended to be applied to a traffic repugnant to morals, and he saw no reasons for voting against a differential duty against slave-grown sugar. He supported the motion, but not the addition of Mr. Hume, which he was convinced, from his personal knowledge of Africa, would tend to encourage the slave-trade.

Mr. GRANTLEY BERKELEY supported the motion and the amendment. He asked for free emigration to the colonies; but Government must lend its aid, or British Guiana would not profit by it. The planter was entitled to protection against the slaver, until he had a sufficient supply of free labour to compete with him. The Government had been guilty of inconsistency in denouncing and abolishing slavery, and afterwards giving encouragement to slave produce. The motion called upon Government to set their face against that which they once declared to be religiously and morally wrong, and was moreover an injustice to the colonies, which, if their career of decay was not arrested, would be lost.

Mr. JAMES WILSON did not deny the existence of distress in the West Indies, but it was a different thing to admit that distress, and to describe protection as its cure; it was partly the consequence of the vicious system of times gone by. He admitted that there had been a large increase in the produce of slaveholding countries; but great part of this increase had been going on previous to its admission into this country. A great change had taken place in the production of sugar all over the world, which placed this question in a new position. Of the 1,227,000 tons of sugar produced annually throughout the world, 697,000 tons were the product of free labour, and only 530,000 tons that of slave labour. How, then, could a distinction be maintained between the two in this limited market? How could we distinguish between refined sugar made from raw sugar, produced by slave and by free labour? and how could differential duties on sugar be reconciled with our new navigation system?

Mr. E. H. STANLEY said:—The House must adopt one of two alternatives—either declare that free labour can compete with slave labour, or that emancipation had failed, and £100,000,000 had been wasted. It was difficult to argue the question as to the comparative value of free and slave labour; but, for reasons assigned, he expressed a doubt whether the labour of emigrants from Africa would prove as cheap as that of slaves. He warned the House not to trifle with the present feelings of the colonists.

Mr. HUTT contended that the principle of Sir E. N. Buxton's motion should not be limited to sugar; it should be extended to all productions of all the slaveholding countries in the world; and who would advocate a policy like that? The West Indians were entitled to some compensation, but he was not prepared to give up a policy which had been most beneficial to the empire.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON supported the motion: he would, at all events, arrest the differential duties, at their present point, for a given number of years. He disputed the accuracy of some of Mr. Wilson's statistics, and observed that, though he had descanted much upon quantities, he had said nothing of the prices of sugar, which had fallen so low as to destroy all the benefit desirable from increase of quantity. After referring to the condition of the colonies, and appealing to the opinions of Dr. Lushington and other high authorities, he declared that, in his opinion, Lord John Russell, by the Sugar Act of 1846, had done more than any living man to stimulate the slave-trade.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied to the several arguments in favour of the motion, and denied that the colonies were in so deplorable a condition as had been represented. What was wanted was protection. This must check consumption, which had increased from 15 lbs. per head in 1840, to 24 lbs. a head in 1849. The project of buying slaves in Africa, and sending them free to the West Indies, the Government would not adopt, though they were prepared to facilitate the introduction of other free labourers. He was happy to say that, from many of the colonies, accounts not unsatisfactory had been received; and, looking at what was going on in the West Indies, and the exertions made to increase production by a better cultivation of the land, he trusted the House would not check this growing spirit of energy, and inspire delusive hopes of a revival of protection.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the case really before the House was that of the West Indies, and one of the greatest difficulties of this question was, that when the principle of protection was extended to the West Indies with reference to their peculiar circumstances, it reached other portions of the empire which had no such special claims. It was not emancipation which had ruined the West Indies, but the false policy that succeeded it; for the artificial scarcity of labour there Parliament was responsible. Then came the Act of 1846, the fruits of which were now appearing. Sir Robert Peel had justly regarded the West Indies as furnishing an exception from the general category of free-trade; and if he (Mr. Gladstone) believed that the restoration of protection would be an effective cure for the evils of the sugar-growing colonies, he would be prepared to vote for it; but, not believing it would be a permanent cure, he was still of opinion that the scale of duties ought to be arrested in its descent.



LORD PALMERSTON expressed his surprise at the inconsistency which had been exhibited during the debate, and which had been crowned by Mr. Gladstone, who was about to vote for a resolution to perpetuate protection which he condemned; it was a mistake to suppose that it was slave-grown sugar which pressed our colonies in this market. To effect the object of Mr. Gladstone, the differential duty must not be confined to slave-grown sugar, but must extend to foreign free-labour sugar. It was not, however, by these means that the great evil of the slave-trade could be put down. By the measures now in progress, by rendering the maritime police more effectual, by treaties with native chiefs, and other expedients, he hoped that next year it would be seen that the diminution, if not the extinction, of the trade was not so chimerical as some had imagined. On every ground, both of expediency and principle, he objected to the motion as insufficient on the score of humanity, and as leading to a restoration of the principle of protection, which would be injurious to our commercial relations, and fatal to the industry of this country.

SIR EDWARD BUXTON replied, and the House divided, when the motion was negatived by 275 against 234.

Had the motion of Sir E. N. Buxton been carried, the addition proposed by Mr. Hume would have been submitted to the decision of the House. But, in order to give effect to it, it would be necessary to repeal all the Acts which have been passed from 1806 to the present time against the slave-trade, and to re-establish, under the form of apprenticeship, a system of slavery for a period of years in the British colonies. Now, whatever may be the tendencies of modern legislation, we do not believe that the Parliament and people of this country are quite prepared to stultify themselves in this way, in order that Mr. Burnley, of Trinidad, the brother-in-law of the hon. member for Montrose, may cultivate his estates at greater profit than he pretends he can under a system of free labour.

#### BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

The first part of the Blue Book, relating to the British colonies for 1849, has just been laid before Parliament. The following extracts will indicate the points of importance in the Reports of the Governors and their subordinates in office, who represent the Crown in the islands:—

##### BARBADOES.

*Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke's Report, dated March 25th, 1850.*

"Although the difficulties to which the island, in common with the other colonies of the West Indies, has lately been exposed, cannot be considered to have been surmounted, there are indications of improvement, which I hope will continue to be progressive. The exports which, in 1848, amounted to £659,073 12s. 9d., were raised in the last year to £791,740 4s. 7d.; and the imports, which in 1848 were £432,016 7s. 4d., amounted in 1849 to £591,478 1s. 6d. The public revenue has also been proportionably augmented.

"In the last two years the seasons have been extremely favourable, and the colonies have also felt the effects of the general revival of trade. There is much, however, to be attributed to the exertions which have been locally made to surmount the pressure; the activity, intelligence, and frugality of the planters having been seconded by the industry and good conduct of the peasantry, in a manner to indicate the resources on which the colonies must mainly rely for the restoration of their prosperity. . . . From the application of skill and science, in superseding the ruder methods which had formerly been practised in the production of sugar, the condition of the planter has been improved. . . . The sugar boiled in *vacuo* is of finer grain, and being less subject to drainage than the ordinary muscovado, this method of preparation is practised to some extent, although discouraged by the higher duty imposed on such sugars in England; and I submit that, in order to promote the improvement of sugars from the British colonies, these duties ought to be assimilated. . . .

"In estimating the relative progress of the colonies in wealth and improvement, the value of their staple productions cannot be assumed as the measure of their advancement. In colonies where the returns upon capital and industry have been insufficient to support an absent proprietary, their resources have progressively accumulated; and these improvements have been accelerated in some cases by the introduction and investment of capital in reproductive works. In these colonies, where the produce of estates has, for the most part, been exported in discharge of the claims of absent proprietors and mortgagees, such improvements have not obtained; and the general poverty of the people is strikingly contrasted with the value of the returns derived from their labour on the land. . . . It is with satisfaction that I can bear testimony to the disposition and capacity for improvement which characterises the African race and their descendants; and while lamenting the slow progress in imparting to them the benefits of instruction, I am satisfied of their desire to avail themselves, to whatever extent, of the means which may

be afforded to them. . . . Where the coloured inhabitants have been entrusted with authority, the zeal they have manifested in support of the laws, and for the preservation of peace and order, has been highly creditable to them. In the last year there has been a marked diminution in the number of offences committed, and which, with few exceptions, have not been of an aggravated character."

In referring to the cultivation of cotton, which was formerly extensively carried on in Barbadoes, Sir W. Colebrooke says, that not only its growth as an article of export, but its manufacture, is likely to obtain some share of attention. The population continues rapidly to increase.—*Blue Book*, 1850, pp. 10-12.

##### GRENADA.

*Lieut.-Governor Hamilton's Report, dated March 23, 1850.*

"In my report for the preceding year, I stated that circumstances which had operated to retard and prevent the proper cultivation of the land in that year would affect the crop of the year 1849, and there has been a slight diminution in the exports of rum and sugar.

"The colony has, however, without difficulty, maintained its institutions, which are fixed on a very moderate scale; and I trust that the circumstances alluded to in my present report will uphold the opinion that the colony is progressing, and justify the expectation that its resources will be further developed."

The Lieut.-Governor dwells largely on the advantages resulting from African immigration. The "docile and apt" African is now the favourite labourer in the British colonies, however it might have been the fashion to decry him in former times.—*Ibid.* p. 21.

##### TOBAGO.

*President Yeats's Report, dated April 4th, 1850.*

"During the year, (1849,) there have been few improvements either in the modes of cultivating canes or manufacturing sugar. The crop has slightly exceeded that of the previous year. The weather, however, has been favourable for other plantation purposes, and a large fall plant for crop 1850 has been successfully established. The Metairie contract system has made considerable progress during the past year, and, if judiciously regulated, promises to afford a valuable class of cultivators."

The President says, that "The taxation of this colony appears to be based on the principle of pressing lightly on the planting interest in its present depressed condition," and is, consequently, most inequitably distributed. The amount of duty levied on all imports, without respect to class, is 5 per cent. This, with the tax levied on provision grounds, are the principal sources of revenue in Tobago. The labourers suffer from this injustice—nor from this only. We learn, from the best authority, that the magistrates' courts are held on the estates, as in the times of the apprenticeship. Now we are satisfied that the course of justice cannot flow purely, until this crying evil be remedied. We would, therefore, suggest the necessity of immediate steps being taken to place the stipendiary magistrates in a position to do their duty impartially between the master and his servant.—*Ibid.* p. 27.

##### ST. LUCIA.

*Lieut.-Governor Darling's Report, dated April 29, 1850.*

"The number of persons stated to be engaged in agriculture, and the manufacture of its products, in the year 1846, was 5343; in 1847, 5689. For the year 1849 the number, excluding African immigrants, does not exceed 4500. As these figures, however, present a slight increase over the year 1848, when 4291 was returned as the number so employed, it may be inferred that the difficulty of obtaining money will gradually induce a larger portion of the population to resume their habits of working for wages.

"In its moral aspect, the condition of the people presents unmistakable marks of improvement; the following table will show the gradual progress of moral habits, of a desire for education, and of the decrease of crime:—

	1846	1847	1848	1849
Number of children under education } at school . . . . .	440	520	894	969
Number of marriages . . . . .	136	171	150	183
Number of baptisms . . . . .	818	807	769	897
Total number of prisoners committed to gaol in the course of the year . . . . .	462	318	310	237
Convictions for felonies . . . . .	16	21	25	6

"The accession to the population which took place in the shape of immigration from Africa, has been highly beneficial in every respect. The proprietary body, or such members of it as have been fortunate enough to obtain the services of the Africans as labourers, express themselves grateful for the valuable aid they have thus received in their agricultural



operations. And that the immigrants themselves are satisfied with their condition, clearly appears from the fact, which I recently reported to your Excellency, that out of 355 who were alive at the expiration of their first year's contract, 303 remained in the service of their former employers; the remainder seeking employment elsewhere. But in no case has the labourer consented again to place himself under the compulsion of a contract. Of the total number landed, 362, seven died during the year; but against this decrease is shown an increase of four by birth, leaving the total decrease at three."

The Lieut.-Governor says, "The cultivation of cotton is likely to attract attention, in consequence of the recent proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the energy with which it is entered upon in Jamaica, and the success reported to have attended experiments in the island of Dominica. Three or four gentlemen have communicated to me their intention of commencing its culture in this colony, upon a limited scale. Many years ago, as I am informed, some fine varieties of the plant were successfully cultivated in the drier districts." The Lieut.-Governor is opposed to a return to protection, and traces the reduction in wages to the Sugar Act of 1846. He points out the increased cost of expenditure on the estate of an absentee, as compared with that of a resident proprietor. One of the great difficulties felt is "the want of money and credit;" and he adds, "those drawers of bills only are sure of their drafts being duly honoured who accompany them with bills of lading for produce fully sufficient in value to cover the amount."—*Ibid.* pp. 30-38.

## ANTIGUA.

*Governor Higginson's Report, dated March 26, 1850.*

"The general system of tillage may be said to have improved progressively, since the change to free-labour rendered the economical use of it indispensable; nor has the Antigua planter evinced any indisposition to avail himself of the advantages which modern chemical discoveries and other scientific inventions may have placed within his reach. Their enterprise has been rewarded by larger returns from the soil; and these are no doubt capable of being still further augmented. . . . In the processes of manufacture, similar progress has not been made; owing probably to the large outlay required for the purchase and erection of the requisite apparatus, and to the occasional failure in the working and application of some that have been tried. Recent experiments have demonstrated, that by the use of better constructed mills, considerably more juice can be extracted from the canes; and it is generally admitted that the boiling and curing operations are also susceptible of improvement. If the cultivation of estates is to be profitable, both the quantity and quality of the sugar produced from them must be enhanced; for the cost of labour will bear no further reduction, and the prices formerly obtained under high protecting duties can never again be expected. The sooner the proprietary body are made thoroughly sensible of these facts—for there are some who still fondly cling to the hope of returning protection—the nearer will they approach the termination of their difficulties; and appearances indicate that the tide of public opinion is setting in this favourable direction. . . . The commission of aggravated or sanguinary crime is happily of very rare occurrence amongst the emancipated race, but the cases of petty assaults and abusive language towards each other are exceedingly numerous. On the whole, however, I incline to think, that their general conduct and demeanour will contrast favourably with those of the corresponding classes in other communities."

The Governor, advertent to the serious changes produced by the measures of the imperial legislature, "which were totally unexpected," and which have retarded the current of colonial prosperity, observes, "But it may reasonably be hoped that through the broader and safer channel opened to it by the righteous work of emancipation, and the removal of all artificial restrictions on trade, will be laid the foundation of future progress, on a more firm and enduring basis than could ever have been obtained by the unchristian and barbarous stimulus of slavery, or by the uncertain and delusive encouragement held out by monopoly. But the extinction of foreign slavery is indispensable to the full and equitable development of the principle of free-trade in sugar; for so long as the planters in Cuba, or the Brazils, can command an unlimited supply of forced labour, it is mockery to tell the British producers that they are in a position to compete successfully against such odds. Ultimately, however, the rights of humanity and justice must prevail, and it cannot be supposed that this foul and nefarious traffic will much longer be permitted to dishonour and disgrace civilised nations."—*Ibid.* pp. 41-45.

## ST. KITTS.

"While casting a general retrospective glance at the foregoing facts, as evidencing the condition of this comparatively well ordered though suffering community during the past year, I think I observe some signs of a

return, if not to its former material prosperity, at least to a state of things under which labour will again meet with its natural returns. I include, as the chief of these most hopeful signs, the conviction which is gradually imprinting itself on the minds of thinking persons, that the return to a more simple and direct connexion between capital and land must be a necessary element of, and indispensable preliminary to, any improvement of a permanent kind. The absentee system, as I have previously had occasion to observe to your Excellency, has been allowed to develop itself in this island to an excess which has produced its usual concomitant evils. I need not stop to particularise such as are always and everywhere observable as such. But there are many estates in this island which are the property of opulent individuals residing in England (some of whom have never seen their properties), who, apparently, utterly forgetful of the peculiar responsibilities which can never be separated from the ownership of land, are content that their estates shall be cultivated through the agency of mercantile houses at home. So great is the inveteracy of habits of thought on this subject, that there appear, in the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1848 on West India Distress, the names of gentlemen, who, though owning and residing on their estates in the island, were in the habit of leaving them daily for their mercantile or professional operations, classed, augmentatively with reference to the absentee system, as resident proprietors. The effect of this disastrous practice has been that a body of men have grown up in consequence, who, though calling themselves merchants, derive all their profits by simply reducing absentee landlordism to a profession. It is, in my opinion, almost impossible to exaggerate the proportion of embarrassment which this apparently hopeless struggle to reconcile tropical profits with residence in a temperate climate has contributed to West Indian difficulties. As one consequence of it, simultaneously with the depression and disappearance of the old families, has increased the influence of the class of attorneys of estates, who still carry on a lucrative business under a system which concentrates powerfully, in support of itself, the personal interests of the few whom it has not ruined. It is impossible, I should think, but that, with our comparative amenity of climate, and many social advantages, there must be many in the mother-country with small capitals who would gladly invest their means, at present prices, in land of such prodigious fertility as ours. Some indications of such wishes, indeed, already exist. But all intending purchasers meet on the threshold a great obstacle in the cumbrous and expensive system which governs the tenure and alienation of real property, and which so needlessly enhances the cost and precariousness of acquiring it. I am not sanguine in the expectation that this great evil can ever be successfully grappled with by a local legislature. But if the Imperial Parliament could be induced to apply a measure on the principle of the Irish Encumbered Estates Bill to the West Indies generally, I am deeply impressed with the conviction that it would confer on this island at least a very substantial benefit. When two of the elements of a prosperous state of cultivation are present in cheap land and cheap labour, as it is abundantly obvious that they are here, it would seem unreasonable, but that the inducement to a happy investment of capital should be an object within the scope of human legislation. I need not guard myself, when addressing your Excellency, against the danger of basing, where tropical agriculture is the subject of consideration, any conclusions upon the experience of a single year, without reference to the cycle of which it forms a member; but I would nevertheless draw your Excellency's attention to the fact of unquestionable good augury, as I think it, that the staple crops of the island during the past year—a year, apart from all the disastrous effects imputed to the late measure of fiscal legislation, which was the second of a long-continued drought—exceeded the preceding years by an amount in value of about one-eighth, and further nearly reached to two-thirds of the average value of the exports of the decennial period of wild prosperity which closed with the enactment of the Sugar Duty Act of 1846."

In commenting upon this Report, the Governor of Antigua makes the following remarks:—"The Lieut.-Governor dwells upon the evils of absenteeism, and of the management of estates through the intervention of mercantile establishments. They are obvious and of magnitude, but are so interwoven with the conditions attaching to the tenure of West India property, and the system of conducting it, that I fear nothing less than a social revolution and re-distribution of property will entirely eradicate them. I concur in opinion with the Lieut.-Governor that it would be exceedingly desirable to facilitate the sale and transfer of real property, by substituting a more simple and easy method for the cumbrous and expensive machinery now in use; this and every other inducement should be held out for the investment of capital in the soil; the scarcity of which is, after all, the most serious of all the various difficulties that the planters have to combat."—*Ibid.* pp. 46-48.

We shall return to this subject when the second part of the papers relating to the sugar colonies shall have been laid before Parliament.



## THE SLAVERY COMPROMISE QUESTIONS.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

On Wednesday, the 15th of May, Mr. Clay, from the select committee of thirteen, appointed by the United States Senate to report on the subjects of the admission of the new States to be carved out of Texas, the admission of California into the Union, the formation of territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico, the surrender of fugitive slaves, the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, and all the vexed subjects connected with the institution of slavery in the United States, submitted a report, of which the following is an abstract.

## NEW STATES TO BE CARVED OUT OF TEXAS.

After a few general observations, the committee take up the question of the obligation of Congress to admit new States into the Union, to be formed out of the territory of Texas. We give this part of the report entire :—

"By a provision in the resolution of Congress annexing Texas to the United States, it is declared that 'new States of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution; and such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36° 30' north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire.'

"The committee are unanimously of opinion, that whenever one or more States, formed out of the territory of Texas, not exceeding four, having sufficient population, with the consent of Texas, may apply to be admitted into the Union, they are entitled to such admission, beyond all doubt, upon the clear, unambiguous, and absolute terms of the solemn compact contained in the resolution of annexation adopted by Congress, and assented to by Texas. But, whilst the committee conceive that the right of admission into the Union of any new States carved out of the territory of Texas, not exceeding the number specified, and under the conditions stated, cannot be justly controverted, the committee do not think that the formation of any such new State should now originate with Congress.

"The initiative, in conformity with the usage which has heretofore prevailed, should be taken by a portion of the people of Texas themselves, desirous of constituting a new State, with the consent of Texas. And in the formation of such new State, it will be for the people composing it to decide for themselves whether they will admit or will exclude slavery. And however they will decide that purely municipal question, Congress is bound to acquiesce, and to fulfil in good faith the stipulations of the compact with Texas. The committee are aware that it has been contended that the resolution of Congress annexing Texas was unconstitutional. At a former epoch of our country's history, there were those (and Mr. Jefferson, under whose auspices the treaty of Louisiana was concluded, was among them) who believed that the States formed out of Louisiana could not be received into the Union without an amendment of the constitution. But the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas and Iowa have been all, nevertheless, admitted.

"And who would now think of opposing the admission of Minnesota, Oregon, or other new States formed out of the ancient province of Louisiana, upon the ground of an alleged original defect of constitutional power? In grave national transactions, while yet in their earlier, or incipient stages, differences may well exist; but when once they have been decided by a constitutional majority, and are consummated, or are in a process of consummation, there can be no other safe and prudent alternative than to respect the decision already rendered, and to acquiesce in it. Entertaining these views, a majority of the committee do not think it necessary or proper to recommend, at this time, or prospectively, any new State or States to be formed out of the territory of Texas. Should any such State be hereafter formed, and present itself for admission into the Union, whether with or without the establishment of slavery, it cannot be doubted that Congress will, under a full sense of honour, of good faith, and of all the high obligations arising out of the compact with Texas, decide just as it will decide under the influence of similar considerations in regard to

new States formed of or out of New Mexico and Utah, with or without the institution of slavery, according to the constitutions and judgments of the people who compose them, as to what may be best to promote their happiness."

## ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA.

Waiving the irregularity by which that State was organised without the previous authority of an act of Congress—an irregularity not wholly unprecedented, and under the circumstances of California justifiable as an act of necessity, a majority of the committee recommend the admission of California into the Union, with the boundaries proposed in her recently formed constitution. The committee say that her constitution is republican, her population ample, and her boundaries not too large, considering the probably small proportion of land adapted to cultivation.

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS FOR UTAH AND NEW MEXICO.

The committee recommend that all the territory recently acquired from Mexico, and not included in the State of California, be formed into two territories, to be called Utah and New Mexico, and to be placed under territorial governments, with an express proviso, however, that the territorial legislature shall not have power to pass any law in respect to African slavery. A territorial government they regard as necessary to the proper security of the rights and interests of the people of those distant regions, and the faithful fulfilment of our treaty stipulations with Mexico.

## COMBINATION OF TWO MEASURES IN ONE BILL.

The committee urge a combination of the two measures, viz., the establishment of territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico, and the admission of California into the Union, in the same bill, on the ground that a majority in Congress may be obtained for such a bill, while it might not be possible to secure a majority for either measure separately. They refer to the constitution of the United States as an example in which the whole country agree to adopt an instrument as a whole, although containing many articles to which a majority of the people would never have consented, if they had voted on them separately.

## SETTLEMENT OF THE BOUNDARY OF TEXAS.—COMBINATION AGAIN.

Texas claims as her western boundary the Rio Grande, from its mouth to its source. Others maintain that her true western boundary is the Nueces. Without entering into the controversy, the committee propose that the western boundary should commence on the Rio Grande at its mouth, and proceed up the river to a point twenty miles north of the point called El Paso, and thence eastwardly to the 100th degree of W. lon. and to the point where that meridian crosses the Red River. In consideration of the relinquishment by Texas of all claim to every portion of the country northwest of this line, and also in consideration that a portion of the debt of Texas was created on a pledge to some of her creditors of the duties on imports, which, since her annexation, have been paid into the United States treasury, the committee propose that the United States pay to Texas the sum of million dollars in a five per cent. stock, to be applied in the first instance to the payment of these creditors, and the residue to be expended by her for the extinguishment of her remaining debt, or in any other way she may direct. The committee estimate the extent of the territory to which Texas will thus relinquish her claim at about 125,000 square miles, or 80,000,000 acres; and from the proceeds of the sales of these lands, they think the United States may ultimately be repaid a large part, if not the whole, of the money now to be advanced.

This measure of settling the boundary of Texas, and the payment to her of this large sum of money, the committee propose should also be made a part of the bill for admitting California into the Union, and forming territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico. By the union of the three measures, they hope that all the difficult and distracting questions which have arisen out of the territorial acquisitions from Mexico may be adjusted.

## DELIVERING UP OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

We quote this part of the report entire.

"The committee will now proceed to the consideration of, and to report upon the subject of persons owing service or labour in one State, escaping into another. The text of the constitution is quite clear :—'No person held to labour or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or



labour, but *shall be delivered up*, on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.' Nothing can be more explicit than this language—nothing more manifest than the right to demand, and the obligation to deliver up to the claimant any such fugitive. And the constitution addresses itself alike to the States composing the Union and to the General Government. If, indeed, there were any difference in the duty to enforce this portion of the constitution between the States and the Federal Government, it is more clear that it is that of the former than of the latter. But it is the duty of both. It is now well known and incontestible that citizens in slaveholding States encounter the greatest difficulty in obtaining the benefit of this provision of the constitution. The attempt to recapture a fugitive is almost always a subject of great irritation and excitement, and often leads to most unpleasant, if not perilous collisions. An owner of a slave, it is quite notorious, cannot pursue his property, for the purpose of its recovery, in some of the States, without imminent personal hazard. This is a deplorable state of things, which ought to be remedied. The law of 1793 has been found wholly ineffectual, and requires more stringent enactments. There is, especially, a deficiency in the number of public functionaries authorised to afford aid in the seizure and arrest of fugitives. Various States have declined to afford aid and co-operation in the surrender of fugitives from labour, as the committee believe, from a misconception of their duty arising under the constitution of the United States. It is true that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States has given countenance to them in withholding their assistance. But the committee cannot but believe that the intention of the Supreme Court has been misunderstood. They cannot but think that that Court merely meant that laws of the several States which created obstacles in the way of the recovery of fugitives were not authorised by the constitution, and not that State laws affording facilities in the recovery of fugitives were forbidden by that instrument.

"The non-slaveholding States, whatever sympathies any of their citizens may feel for persons who escape from other States, cannot discharge themselves from an obligation to enforce the constitution of the United States. All parts of the instrument being dependent upon, and connected with each other, ought to be fairly and justly enforced. If some States may seek to exonerate themselves from one portion of the constitution, other States may endeavour to evade the performance of other portions of it; and thus the instrument, in some of its most important provisions, might become inoperative and invalid.

"But, whatever may be the conduct of individual States, the duty of the General Government is perfectly clear. That duty is, to amend the existing law, and to provide an effectual remedy for the recovery of fugitives from service or labour. In devising such a remedy, Congress ought, while on one hand securing to the owner the fair restoration of his property, effectually to guard, on the other, against any abuses in the application of that remedy.

"In all cases of the arrest, within a State, of persons charged with offences; in all cases of the pursuit of fugitives from justice, from one State to another State; in all cases of extradition provided for by treaties between foreign powers—the proceeding uniformly is summary. It has never been thought necessary to apply, in cases of that kind, the forms and ceremonies of a final trial. And when that trial does take place, it is in the State or country from which the party has fled, and not in that in which he has found refuge. By the express language of the constitution, whether the fugitive is held to service or labour, or not, is to be determined by the laws of the State from which he fled, and, consequently, it is most proper that the tribunals of that State should expound and administer its own laws. If there have been any instances of abuse in the erroneous arrest of fugitives from service or labour, the committee have not obtained knowledge of them. They believe that none such have occurred, and that such are not likely to occur.

"But, in order to guard against the possibility of their occurrence, the committee have prepared, and herewith report a section, to be offered to the Fugitive Bill now pending before the Senate. According to this section, the owner of a fugitive from service or labour is, when practicable, to carry with him to the State in which the person is found, a record, from a competent tribunal, adjudicating the facts of elopement and slavery, with a general description of the fugitive. This record, properly attested and certified under the official seal of the Court, being taken to the State, where the person owing service or labour is found, is to be held competent and sufficient evidence of the facts which had been adjudi-

cated, and will leave nothing more to be done than to identify the fugitive.

"Numerous petitions have been presented, praying for a trial by jury in the case of arrest of fugitives from service or labour, in the non-slaveholding States. It has been already shown that this would be entirely contrary to practice and uniform usage in all similar cases. Under the name of a popular and cherished institution—an institution, however, never applied in cases of preliminary proceeding, and only in cases of final trial—there would be a complete mockery of justice, so far as the owner of the fugitive is concerned. If the trial by jury be admitted, it would draw after it its usual consequences, of continuance from time to time, to bring evidence from distant places, of second or new trials, in cases where the jury is hung, or the verdict is set aside; and of revisals of the verdict and conduct of the juries by competent tribunals. During the progress of all these dilatory and expensive proceedings, what security is there as to the custody and forthcoming of the fugitive upon their termination? And if, finally, the claimant should be successful, contrary to what happens in ordinary litigation between free persons, he would have to bear all the burdens and expense of the litigation, without indemnity, and would learn, by sad experience, that he had by far better have abandoned his right in the first instance, than to establish it at such unremunerated cost and heavy sacrifice.

"But whilst the committee conceive that a trial by jury in a State where a fugitive from service or labour is recaptured, would be a virtual denial of justice to the claimant of such fugitive, and would be tantamount to a positive refusal to execute the provisions of the constitution, the same objections do not apply to such a trial in the State from which he fled. In slaveholding States full justice is administered, with entire fairness and impartiality, in cases of all actions for freedom. The person claiming his freedom is allowed to sue in *forma pauperis*; counsel is assigned him; time is allowed him to collect his witnesses and to attend the sessions of the court; and his claimant is placed under bond and security, or is divested of the possession during the progress of the trial, to ensure the enjoyment of these privileges; and if there be any leaning on the part of the court and juries, it always leans to the side of the claimant for freedom.

"In deference to the feelings and prejudices which prevail in the non-slaveholding States, the committee propose such a trial in the State from which the fugitive fled, in all cases where he declares to the officer giving the certificate for his return that he has a right to his freedom. Accordingly, the committee have prepared and report herewith two sections, which they recommend should be incorporated in the Fugitive Bill pending in the Senate. According to those sections, the claimant is placed under bond, and required to return the fugitive to that county in the State from which he fled, and there to take him before a competent tribunal, and allow him to assert and establish his freedom if he can, affording to him for that purposes all needful facilities.

"The committee indulge the hope that if the Fugitive Bill, with the proposed amendments, shall be passed by Congress, it will be effectual to secure the recovery of all fugitives from service or labour, and that it will remove all causes of complaint which have hitherto been experienced on that irritating subject. But if in its practical operation it shall be found insufficient, and if no adequate remedy can be devised for the restoration to their owners of fugitive slaves, those owners will have a just title to indemnity out of the treasury of the United States."

#### SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The committee differ in opinion as to the power of Congress under the constitution to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia; but, without discussing the question, they are of opinion that it ought not to be abolished. 'It could not be done,' they say, 'without indispensable conditions which are not likely to be agreed to.' It could not be done without exciting great apprehension and alarm in the slave States. The number of slaves in the district, too, is small and decreasing. In 1840 it was only 3320, while in 1830 it was 4505, the decrease having been more than twenty-six per cent. in ten years.

As to the slave-trade in the district, by which is meant the introduction of slaves from adjacent States into the district for sale, or to be placed in depôts for transportation to other markets, the majority of the committee declare that it ought to be abolished.



The committee report a bill giving the corporations of Washington and George-town power to break up and abolish the depôts and goals of the slave-traders.

### **The Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

LONDON, MONDAY, JULY the 1st, 1850.

The position which the Anti-slavery Committee have taken with respect to the sugar duties, begins to be better understood and appreciated, both in this country and in the colonies, than was recently the case. It is now seen that in resisting the introduction of the sugars of Cuba and Brazil into the British markets, they were not influenced by a regard to West India interests, or the supposed welfare of the emancipated labourers, though they have not overlooked either, but by a determination to prevent, as far as they were able, the increase of the slave-trade and the extension of slavery. Anxious to increase the culture of sugar by free labour, all the world over, they have earnestly advocated, that sugars, grown in every country where the people are free, should be welcomed to British ports, at the same rates of duty. With respect to the British colonies, the Committee have uniformly insisted upon a reduction of the duties on their produce, until they should finally disappear, as have those on corn. They have, moreover, claimed for them an unfettered commerce, except in the productions of slave labour; the reduction of local taxation to the lowest point consistent with the efficient discharge of the public service; and the right of self-government in the most liberal sense of the term. With these advantages conceded to them, they ought, and we have no doubt they would, compete with every part of the world, with which they might fairly be brought into competition, successfully. Under such circumstances we do not think the West Indies would require protection, but that whatever temporary prosperity it might bestow, it would prove ultimately as injurious to them, as it would be unjust to the people of this country. To this view of the case we would invite the attention of the more earnest and unprejudiced men in the colonies, and promise them that we will fight by their side until all the claims they can justly prefer against the mother country shall be amply met and satisfied.

In respect to the vexed question of immigration, the Anti-slavery Committee have taken what they conceive to be a liberal and enlightened view of the subject. They have not opposed it on principle; but have been anxious that it should be so conducted as to prove a real benefit to the immigrant and to his employer. They have, therefore, opposed the introduction of masses of foreigners, at the public expense, conceiving that, whatever advantage it might give to particular parties, it would be unjust to the community at large. Experience has now proved that the most expensive, if not the most hazardous, of all modes of obtaining labour for the colonies, is that of bounties on immigrants. To say nothing of the injury, in a moral point of view, which has resulted to the emancipated classes, from past schemes of immigration, we would ask, if the large sums which have been expended on the supply of foreign labour, had been applied to increase the perfection and promote the more extensive use of implements adapted to tropical agriculture and to the manufacture of its products; to the drainage and more scientific culture of the land; and to the improvement of its roads and other means of transit, whether it would not have produced results vastly superior to the advantages said to have been derived from immigration? We feel assured, that with the present supply of labour, wisely applied, the produce of the colonies might be greatly increased; and that it only requires the presence of capital and a resident proprietary, to ensure their future prosperity, provided slave-grown sugars be excluded from the home markets, or slavery be destroyed in the Spanish colonies and Brazil. Another point which the Committee have insisted upon has been, that due regard should be paid to an equality of the sexes among the immigrants imported into the colonies. From want of attention to this point the most serious evils have resulted, both of a moral and economical character. So far as we can obtain information, of 200,000 Coolies, Africans, Portuguese, &c., introduced into the emancipated colonies, under the bounty system, not ten per cent. have been women; and, as the mortality has been frightfully large, and the periods of service of the Coolies does not extend beyond five years, when they must return to India, at the expense of the colonies importing them, it follows that their places must be filled up by fresh importations, if the cultivation is to be kept up. Can any arrangement be conceived more unwise than this? But we need not dwell upon a subject we have so

frequently discussed, except it be for the purpose of rebutting the statements of Mr. Mangles, the hon. member for Guildford, who from ignorance, no doubt, so constantly misrepresents the Anti-slavery Society on this point.

Mr. Grantley Berkeley's motion, "That this House do resolve itself into a Committee, to take into consideration the Act 11th and 12th Vict. cap. 97, with a view to prevent the expiration of the differential duties on foreign slave-made sugar in the year 1854," stands for discussion on Tuesday, the 16th inst. After the recent debate and division on Sir E. N. Buxton's motion, we scarcely expect that the House will affirm that of the hon. member for Gloucestershire. No doubt the Sugar Act of 1848, which increased the differential duties between British and foreign sugars, has checked the slave-trade, and so far we cannot but regard it with favour, yet we cannot consent to the exclusion of free foreign sugars; and trust that the distinction will be borne in mind, whenever the sugar duties are discussed in the House of Commons.

The great question which has so long engrossed the attention of the Senate and House of Representatives in the United States, is still undecided, and it is yet uncertain what will be its issue. Mr. Clay's Compromise, or Omnibus Bill, still drags its slow length through the Senate, and its discussion not unfrequently gives rise to scenes of great excitement and violence. Mr. Benton, the senator from Missouri, is its most implacable enemy; he assails it in every form the rules of the Senate will permit, and with reason, for anything more opposed to the principles of sound legislation, to justice, and to freedom, can scarcely be imagined. What, for instance, should we think of any Member of the House of Peers or Commons presenting a Bill including half-a-dozen subjects, having no necessary connexion with each other,—good, bad, and indifferent,—and making the acceptance of any one of them dependent upon the adoption of the whole? Why, no member of either House, however distinguished by ability or position, would be tolerated an instant, in making so absurd a proposition. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Clay has done. He has joined the reception of California as a free and independent State, with the reclamation of fugitive slaves from the free States generally, the settlement of the boundaries of Texas and New Mexico, the formation of territorial governments, without a provision excluding slavery, for Utah and New Mexico, the abolition of the slave-trade in the district of Columbia," &c. Now, all but the extreme Southern party are decidedly in favour of the introduction of California as a free State; Mr. Clay has again and again declared himself of the same opinion; the government at Washington strongly recommend it; and public opinion demands it; yet, in order to conciliate Southern interests, to strengthen the system of slavery, to give the Southern party legislative guarantees against the encroachments of freedom, Mr. Clay, seconded by Mr. Webster, General Cass, and other recreant Northern men, sustain this monstrous bill. In the meantime, the public business is all but suspended, and measures of high importance to general interests are set aside, till this be won or lost. Our earnest hope is, that the faithful band of abolitionists in the Senate, led by Mr. Seward, will oppose, by every constitutional means, this attempt to over-ride their rights, and the privileges and duties of the Senate itself. Better by far that California should be refused entrance into the Union for the present; better by far that New Mexico and Utah should be left without territorial governments this session, than that the measures intended to be grafted on the recognition of their claims, should become part and parcel of the general law of the United States. California can take care of herself for another year, and New Mexico, repulsed, will follow the example of California, and form herself into a free State; and then, should the United States attempt to degrade them, by coupling their admission into the Union with any conditions of an injurious nature, they can, in conjunction with Oregon, form themselves into a grand free Republic, and defy the power of the United States to order it otherwise. The latest news from California shows that the citizens are indignant at the treatment they have received from the Senate. The people gathered there are a numerous, hardy, and adventurous body of men, who will not be trifled with. The news from New Mexico, received this day, is to the following effect:—"That the Military Governor, Colonel Munroe, had issued a proclamation directing the election of Delegates to a Convention, to be held at Santa Fe, on the 15th of June last, for the formation of a State Constitution and Government for the territory." Thus, whilst



the Senate of the United States is deliberating about a territorial government for this important section of the American Continent, the people are effectually doing the work for themselves. We wish them all success, for we are satisfied that in any Constitution they may form for themselves, slavery will be for ever excluded.

The claims of Texas to any portion of New Mexico is simply used as a stalking-horse, to cover the movements of Southern politicians; even Mr. Clay himself, who is willing to pay Texas a handsome sum if she will forego her claims, has clearly enough intimated that, if they were brought before the proper tribunals of the country, they could not be sustained. Texas has no right to any portion of New Mexico. Her attempt to enforce this alleged right, by sending a Commissioner to Santa Fe, has been indignantly resisted by the citizens, and Mr. Neighbour, her agent, has been compelled to return to Texas, after an ineffectual attempt to organise it into a county. We shall await the next arrivals with much anxiety, for the game now playing at Washington is full of importance, not only to the United States, but to the world at large.

The piratical expedition of General Lopez and his band of buccaners, against the island of Cuba, has ended in an ignominious flight. After having attacked and taken Cardenas, burnt the Government House, and robbed the public treasury, this adventurer preferred a retreat on board the *Creole* to an advance on Matanzas, where, it is said, he had many friends. He is now in the United States, held to bail by the United States Government, for the violation of American law; but few persons are of opinion that he will meet the punishment he so richly deserves. The fact is, disguise it as we may, the Americans, both North and South, with few exceptions, would have hailed with satisfaction the capture of Cuba; and the authorities at Washington would have speedily acknowledged its independence of Spain, had a provisional Government been formed. The South covets the Queen of the Antilles, because it would be a political counterpoise to the free States, which are rapidly coming into the Union; and because it would enable the older slave States to get rid, at a profitable market, of their redundant slave population, and prolong, for an indefinite period, the system of slavery. The North, commercially speaking, would be greatly benefited, and the produce and the market they so much prize would be all their own. However great the stir at Washington, after the sailing of Lopez, and however great the energy displayed, since his return, we feel persuaded that General Taylor, at heart, as much regrets the issue of the expedition as Lopez himself. We will even go farther, and say, that as soon as the circumstances connected with it are blown over, a new and more formidable armament will be fitted out; and unless other powers unite with Spain to guarantee the independence of Cuba, like Texas, either by force or fraud, it will be annexed to the United States.

That the Cubans have just cause of complaint against Spain, admits of no question or doubt. Their resources are drained to meet the necessities of the parent State; they are denied every approach to self-government; offices of emolument and power are conferred exclusively on strangers, the creatures of the Spanish camarilla; and a large army is kept up, for the double purpose of keeping the slave population in awe, and the free population in order. If the Spanish Government were wise, they would, at once, concede a large amount of liberty to the natives of the island, they would confer on them posts of dignity and trust, they would institute large reforms, and take measures for the early abolition of slavery. Were they to do this, Cuba might be preserved to the Spanish crown; and the quarrel between Great Britain and Spain, which must soon come to a head, be healed. But, if blind to the past, and reckless of the future, the Government at Madrid will continue its tyranny and bad faith, then, we say, the fate of Cuba is sealed; it will cease to enrich and adorn the Spanish monarchy; and all we can hope for then is, that its independence of the United States and of Spain may be secured by Great Britain and France, whose possessions, in that quarter of the world, would otherwise be imperiled by the miscreants who would inhabit it.

The storm which threatened to embroil the United States with Spain, arising out of the capture of Americans on the island of Contoy, appears to have blown over. One of the American vessels of war, the *Seranac*, has arrived at Norfolk, United States, from Havana, bringing intelligence to the following effect—that instructions had been given to the American navy, that if the vessels captured by the Spaniards formed part of the invading expedition, they were not to seek or rescue them. This determina-

tion has given much satisfaction to the authorities at Havana. The prisoners captured are in close confinement; no one was permitted to visit them; but it was understood that those taken on the isle of Contoy would have a fair trial, and that, in the meantime, they would be well-treated. Subsequently, it is reported, that information had been received that the Spanish authorities at Havana had released all the prisoners, who would possibly be brought before the United States' tribunals for trial, and that this had given great satisfaction to the supporters of General Taylor throughout the Union.

The question of the immigration of labourers into the British colonies is again absorbing the attention of those colonies which complain of a want of labour, but who, most inconsistently, at the same time, proclaim themselves to be in a state of ruin, which nothing but protection could either alleviate or retard. For our own parts, on a serious and extensive study of this question, we no more believe that immigration will benefit the emancipated colonies, than we believe protection would ensure their permanent prosperity. Most of the colonies have as large a supply of labour as they need, or could efficiently employ, if they would fairly call it out, and were prepared to pay for it a fair price, with the regularity which can alone secure its continuance. Capital, skill, energy, are the things most wanted in the colonies just now. The nominal holders of estates, non-resident proprietors, leviathan attorneys, and the host of underlings who swallow up the profits of the estates, or throw the balance on the wrong side of the account, we fear, in some instances, for the most selfish and dishonourable purposes, must be got rid of. It is this class of men who urge the immigration scheme, at the public expense, most clamorously, to give a momentary and factitious value to certain properties; but the public at large in the colonies are utterly opposed to them, because, so far from their being an advantage to them, they are a positive nuisance, injury, and wrong. They augment taxation, drive the creole labourers from the estates, prevent a better system of agriculture, and bring with them an amount of misery, immorality, and death, too frightful to contemplate.

British Guiana demands 10,000 Coolies, besides such Africans as Lord Grey may send them from Sierra Leone, at the expense of the British nation. To pay for the Coolies, £250,000 is to be borrowed from the British Exchequer. Trinidad wants 1,000 Coolies per annum, besides her complement of Africans; St. Lucia wants 6,000 Africans; St. Vincent, Grenada, Antigua, &c., proportionate numbers. But, in addition, all these colonies require that for periods ranging from three to five years, the planters should have an almost unlimited control over the immigrants, under the shape of indentures or contracts. The real interests of the colonies, as well as the freedom and happiness of the immigrants, require that all this should be steadily resisted. If any of our readers wish to be aware of the preposterous demands of certain parties in the colonies, let them read our Colonial Intelligence for the present month. Nothing can more clearly display what the leading men in the colonies are driving at than the revelations it contains. We wish to save the colonies, to advance their prosperity, to content all classes of their resident populations; and we feel that we are acting the part of a real friend when we say, that not another immigrant should be imported into any of them at the public expense; and that those who pretend they want them, should find the means from their own resources to introduce them.

We deeply regret to perceive that a frightful mortality still continues to mark the progress of African emigration from Sierra Leone and St. Helena to the British colonies. We cannot believe that, if proper care were taken, such affecting details would reach us. The *Atlantic* shipped at St. Helena, for St. Vincent, 347 Africans; the voyage occupied twenty-nine days, and the deaths were fifty! The *Tuskar* shipped ninety-two Africans at Sierra Leone, and thence proceeded to St. Helena, where she took in 520 more, making, in all, 612. Of these, only 572 arrived at St. Lucia alive, forty having died on the passage, one on the night of arrival, another on the following day, and twenty-one were transferred from the ship to the Colonial Hospital. The rest were distributed according to the good pleasure of the authorities, in various proportions, among the owners of about forty estates. Surely a most rigid inquiry ought to be instituted, first, into the causes of the mortality which marks these voyages; and, secondly, whether, in the distribution of these poor African immigrants, their feelings and wishes are consulted, and care is taken not to separate relations and friends.



## UNITED STATES CONGRESS.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

## COMPROMISE REPORT.

May 10.

Mr. Clay, chairman of the Committee of Thirteen, occupied about an hour in reading their "Compromise Report," which, although voluminous, was listened to with profound attention by senators and spectators. The leading features of the bill we have given in another part of the *Reporter*. Upon the motion to print, several senators took occasion to express their assent or dissent to some of the provisions of the bill. Messrs. Phelps, Mason, Cooper, Downs, and Clemens were opposed to certain measures it recommended, and said they should express their views and objections more fully when the bill should be properly before them for debate. Messrs. Foote, Clay, and Maugum made some remarks in support of the report. Mr. Clay said he had enlisted himself in the great cause of the Union, and of harmony in its distracted parts, and he meant to vindicate what he had done, and to vindicate the report too, if necessary, from beginning to end, and show that it was founded in reason, in fact, and in truth.

Mr. Hale: I confess that I am somewhat surprised at the manner in which this report has been received. It only serves to strengthen my convictions of the truth of the remark of the senator from Alabama (Mr. Clemens), when he said "that concessions to fanaticism never satisfied fanatics." Never, Sir. If we can suppose that there is any fanaticism at the South—we all know that there is a great deal of it North—but if we can only suppose that there is any at all at the South, and if they are not satisfied with this measure of concession, I do ask, in the name of humility itself, what do they want? In the name of humility, senators, what do you want? This bill turns the whole of the territories into a slave pasture, and offers no obstruction to the spread of slavery over every inch of it. I want this fact to go out to the country in connexion with the report, so that the people may see and understand the extent of the concession. Yes, Sir, the report proposes to turn this whole territory into a slave pasture, and to let down the bars so that all may go in; and the senator from Arkansas (Mr. Borland) I believe did say that, as an abstract proposition, he was satisfied with that. Well, Sir, what has the North got? It has got nothing, because it asked for nothing, so far as I know, and it wants nothing. What, then, is the concession to the North? Is this, then, a compromise? No, Sir. A compromise gives and takes, but in this case it seems to me that the South takes the whole. In times past the South has been urging and urging that California should form a Constitution for herself, and come into the Union, and thus avoid all this agitation. That, Sir, was the Southern teaching, promulgated by the high priest of the elect here in this city, the Union newspaper; for that was the doctrine they preached. Let California form a State Constitution and come into the Union, and thus avoid all this difficulty. Well, Sir, it is now proposed to take California with just such a Constitution as she has framed under this Southern teaching. Then we are to take the rest of the territory, every inch of it, and appropriate it to what you contend and believe, if there be any truth in you, to be the use of slavery, because you say the Constitution carries that institution with it wherever it goes. Thus you of the South get all you ask, and we of the North get nothing. Then comes the fugitive slave bill, and you propose to pass that, and you are going to give the slave the right of trial by jury! If a coloured man in New Hampshire—and there are a very few there—should be seized and claimed as a slave in this desert at the back side of Utah, he would be tried there, and not be brought back to New Hampshire to be tried where he was born and brought up. But your bill gives him a jury trial in the deserts of Utah! That would be worth a good deal to him! I wonder what it would cost him to get his witnesses there! That is a concession to the North, indeed! Now, I am extremely glad that we have had the exhibition that we have had to-day. The senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foote) thanks the committee for what they have done. Well, I thank the senators who have opposed the report, so that there are thanks all round. I thank them, because now the country will see where we stand. And they will see, too, that the senator from Alabama did not speak without the book when he said that "concession to fanaticism never satisfied fanatics;" for, Sir, I think he demonstrated the truth of that proposition most clearly to-day. Let them put this report down, and then let us go home and tell the country we have exhausted the cup of concession; that we have conceded everything that was asked of us; that nothing was held back, and that then, when all this was done, we stood exactly where we were at the commencement. These gentlemen were not satisfied at first, they were not satisfied at last, and they never mean to be satisfied, and they never will be.

May 13.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill to admit California into the Union.

Mr. Clay proceeded with a statement of the sentiments prevailing in the Committee at their several meetings. Each member of the Committee, if left to himself, probably would have presented a different report from that now under consideration. He was at one time himself in the minority. He had not been, however, and was not now discouraged, but indulged the hope that every member of the Committee would cast his final vote in favour of the recommendations of the report. He felt assured that the only adjustment which could be made upon the disturbing question by Congress, must be made upon some such basis as that reported. The crisis had arrived, and he could not but indulge the hope, that after full consideration and deliberation, the report now presented for settling the difficulties and avoiding the impending dangers, would receive the full approval and concurrence of the Senate.

May 15.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill for the admission of California and the establishment of territorial Governments. Mr. Douglas expressed a desire to get a test vote upon the separation of the measure for the admission of California from the other subjects. With that view he moved to lay the bill under consideration on the table, in order to take up the bill for the admission of California, which was negatived, twenty-four to twenty-eight.

Mr. Davis, of Miss., moved that the tenth section of the bill be stricken out—a prohibition preventing the proposed territorial legislatures from passing any laws in respect to African slavery—and substitute a provision preventing said legislatures from passing any laws interfering with those

rights of property which grew out of the institution of African slavery as it exists in any of the States of the Union.

Mr. Clay said, if the senator's object was to establish slavery in territories now free, he was entirely opposed. The object of the Committee had been to leave the question on slavery to the *Lex Loci*, which he believed and argued, prohibited African slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico.

Mr. Rusk defended the title of Texas to the Rio Grande against imputations which he understood Mr. Clay to have cast upon it.

Mr. Clay denied that he had gone into the question of title; his position was, that no matter how poor the title of possession to a territory, the *Lex Loci* of the territory continued the same as before its acquisition, until the acquiring power should, by legislative act, extend its laws over said territory.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, said, his object in moving the amendment was to ascertain distinctly whether or not the people of the South were to be permitted to go into the territories proposed to be established, with their slave property, with any degree of security. He believed that the South had the right to carry their property into the territories. He claimed some protection in its use and enjoyment.

Mr. Clay opposed the amendment. Admitting that its effect would be as Mr. Davis stated, he would vote against it on the ground that the section as it stands gave all proper protection to citizens of the South. He appealed to those who had acted with Mr. Calhoun, whether they could persist in asking the positive introduction of slavery into territories? Would not the exercise of such power admit the power to prohibit slavery? But again. Why should senators embarrass the pending proposition by an attempt to secure a provision protecting slavery, where it could not and would not go?

Mr. Youlee said that he had voted to lay the bill on the table this morning, for the purpose of expressing his discountenance of the entire scheme presented by the Committee of thirteen, and proceeded with some general remarks adverse to the bill and report. In the course of his observations, he expressed his surprise at the position taken by Mr. Clay, who, in the Missouri contest, eloquently and vehemently maintained that it was not only just and right to the South, but consistent with humanity, that the North should permit and aid in the diffusion of slavery in the territories. He (Mr. Youlee) could be satisfied with no such scheme of settlement as the one proposed, nor any that failed to recognise the rights of the South, and vindicate its honour.

Mr. Foote expressed his gratification that Mr. Youlee was the only Southern man who, by a direct vote, had felt himself called upon to express his entire disapprobation of the compromise. He proceeded at length in support of the proposition that the Mexican laws repealing slavery in Mexico were no longer in force in the newly acquired territories, arguing, therefrom, that the provision of the bill leaving the question of slavery in the territories to the *Lex Loci*, not only recognised, but confirmed the rights of the South. In conclusion, Mr. Foote gave notice that if Mr. Davis' amendment was rejected, he would move to amend the tenth section of the bill, so as to provide in terms, that the territorial legislature shall neither establish nor inhibit African slavery.

May 16.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, modified his amendment submitted yesterday, by substituting a proviso to the fourth section, giving to the territorial legislature power to pass laws necessary to the protection of the rights of citizens of the territories, in their African slave property.

Mr. Foote resumed and concluded his speech in reply to Mr. Youlee, and in vindication of his position that the abolition laws of Mexico are repealed.

Mr. Youlee said that he considered the bill as a scheme of compromise, and that while he saw in it many concessions from the South to the North, he could find none in it from the North to the South; there was no compromise in it. He desired that the rights of the South should be expressly guaranteed by the bill before he could support it. He asked no compromise, but only that the constitutional rights of the South should be secured to them.

Mr. Clemens gave notice of an amendment of the thirty-eighth section, so as to provide that the boundaries of Texas shall be confirmed and acknowledged by her law of limits, passed by her Congress in 1836, and that the sovereignty over the whole of the territory, included in said boundaries, shall be reserved absolutely to said State.—The amendment also provides for the removal north of the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude of the Indians of Texas.

Mr. Foote resumed, and expressed his conviction that the day was not far distant, when the Compromise Bill would pass both Houses of Congress, and be hailed by a universal shout of public acclamation.

Mr. Clemens desired to-day to say to Mr. Foote and to the Senate, that the bill never would pass in its present form. Unfortunately, they could never get any amendments which were satisfactory. The senator from Mississippi had already denounced the amendment of his colleague as hideous. Mr. C. proceeded with some remarks for the purpose of showing that Mr. Foote had not been consistent, and that he had changed his position upon the question of Southern rights, and particularly upon the admission of California. In this connexion, he compared Mr. Foote's declaration yesterday, that the admission of California was nothing that the South had to complain of, with the position assumed in the letter signed by him and his colleagues, in which that measure was pronounced to be equivalent to the Wilmot Proviso.

May 21.

The Omnibus Bill was taken up. Mr. Clay said he could not agree to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Davis], which, in point of fact, assumes that slavery exists in those territories; but he could consent to so modifying the amendment as to prevent the territorial legislature from excluding or admitting slavery there. He urged also that the plan of the Executive was impracticable, and settled but one question—viz., the admission of California. The proposed bill would settle the whole subject of slavery.

May 22.

Mr. Downs obtained the floor, and spoke at length in favour of the compromise.

Mr. Pratt offered the following amendment, which he said was acceptable to senators on all sides of the Chamber, in which was a substitute for that of Mr. Davis, of Mississippi. Mr. Davis's amendment pro-



posed to prevent the territorial legislature from passing any law which should interfere with those rights of property which grow out of the institution of slavery as it exists in any of the States of this Union.—“That the legislative power of said territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil, nor to introduce or exclude African slavery.” I propose further, after the word “slavery,” to insert the following:—“Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent said territorial legislature passing such laws as may be necessary for the protection of the rights of property of any kind which may have been or may be hereafter lawfully introduced into said territory.” So that the section will provide that we have no power to pass any law either to introduce or exclude African slavery. I believe this amendment will meet with the approbation of those who are disposed to support the bill.

May 23, 1850.

Mr. Chase presented petitions asking for the prohibition of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia and the territories of the United States, against the admission of more slave States, and also for a jury trial to fugitive slaves.

Mr. Corwin presented petitions on the same subjects.

The Compromise Bill was again taken up, and Mr. Soule took the floor, and spoke in reply to Mr. Downs. He spoke of his duties, and his determination to fulfil them. He remarked upon the manner of the senator from Kentucky as being a little overbearing, but he would not complain of it. The South had been losing considerable ground ever since the honourable senator from Kentucky offered his Compromise. What has become of the hope that the territories back of the Sierra Nevada were one day to have access to the ocean? What had become of the delusive promise of “suitable boundaries?” The Wilmot Proviso was commended by its boldness. With the advocates of that Proviso, it was proviso or no proviso. Why did not the friends of the South, in the Committee of thirteen, meet the question? Mr. Soule considered that the amendment offered by the senator from Maryland (Mr. Pratt) was an assent to the position which he took the other day. The amendment removed the objection to the original section, as it provided for the protection of slave property. Mr. Soule replied to the argument of his colleague, Mr. Downs.

Mr. Foote took occasion to explain that the proviso offered by Mr. Pratt was agreed upon, some days ago, to remove necessary objections.

Mr. Hale rose to say that the senator from Mississippi had fallen into an error in saying that the senators all around had agreed to the amendment, and for himself he should not assent to it. He preferred to treat the original bill as a totality.

Mr. Soule proceeded to argue that the fugitive slave bill was interesting to Louisiana as well as to Kentucky. But the slaves escaped from Louisiana by every boat that came into her ports and run upon her rivers. They went away in ships from the ports. Louisiana lost many every year. He proceeded to comment on the provisions of this fugitive slave act. The weaker party should be more careful of its rights; when stronger, the South would yield none. Even if the South be beaten, he would not say that he was for disunion.

May 24.

Mr. Corwin presented several petitions against slavery in the territories; against the admission of more slave States; for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, and in favour of a jury trial for fugitive slaves.

May 27th.

The Omnibus Bill was taken up, and the amendment moved by Jefferson Davis, and modified by Mr. Pratt, was read.

Mr. Davis said—He desired now to modify the amendment, so as to meet the issue suggested by the objectionable word, by striking out the word “lawfully,” and inserting “conformably to the Constitution and laws of the United States.”

Mr. Mason then addressed the Senate, and gave an explanation of the views of the minority of the Committee of thirteen, and those of the Senate who repudiate the scheme of compromise. The first objection was to the provision in the fugitive slave bill, allowing trial by jury to a fugitive, because, during the pendency of the legal proceeding, it deprived the owner of the right and power to dispose of his slave. It was also in derogation of the true dignity of the slaveholder, who was thus deprived of the absolute control of a species of property. Again, he would never himself consent to the abolition of the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, but if even such were not his own sentiments his hands were tied—the legislature of Virginia having designed that measure as one of a series, upon the passage of any one of which, by Congress, the Governor was directed to assemble the General Assembly of the State, for the purpose of taking such action as might be deemed proper, in vindication of the right of her citizens to take their property of every description into all the territories of the United States. In the course of his remarks he expressed himself in favour of the Missouri Compromise line, but opposed to the admission of California south of that line, as free territory. To this he would never assent, nor to the surrendering of a large portion of Texas, now acknowledged to be slave territory, to the General Government, to be disposed of as the Government should deem proper.

Mr. Clay then asked whether all Southern senators would be willing to abide by that line, with the condition named.

Mr. Mason said the senator from Kentucky might very soon receive a direct answer to his inquiries, if he would himself intimate a willingness to abide by that line.

Mr. Clay said, that for himself he would have no objection to the extension of the Missouri line across Utah and New Mexico, but not through California.

Mr. Mason said that if Mr. Clay would assent to the running of the Missouri line to the Pacific, and consequent contraction of the boundaries of California, there would be no difficulty in settling the whole question.

May 28.

Mr. Underwood made a long speech on the Omnibus Bill, in the course of which he indicated his preference for the Missouri Compromise, with a specific recognition of the right to hold slaves below that line.

Mr. Chase said—It is not my purpose at this time to enter into any discussion. I agree with the honourable senator from Mississippi, the proposer of this amendment, that it is desirable to have a proposition which means something, which is intelligible, which carries to every part of the country a definite understanding. I am not able to see in this amendment such a proposition. The hon. senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis), it is true, says, that if we adopt this amendment, we do, in fact, recognise, by implication at least—a strong implication, I think, he says—the existence of slavery, or at all events, the propriety and the constitutionality of the introduction of slavery into the territories. I wish to exclude that conclusion, if it be possible, and for that purpose I move to amend the amendment, by adding thereto, as follows:—

“Provided, further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorising or permitting the introduction of slavery, or the holding of persons as property, within the said territories.”

Mr. Pratt—That is the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Chase—Upon that amendment I ask the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays having been ordered,

Mr. Dayton moved a postponement till to-morrow at one o'clock.

Lost—yeas 22, nays 24.

Mr. Clay did not understand the amendment of Mr. Davis of Mississippi, as containing an implication that slavery could be legally introduced into the territories, and, therefore, had no objection to it. And if the senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase) would modify his amendment, so as merely to declare that it was not the intention of Congress to assert, one way or the other, the operation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, as to the introduction of slavery, he would have no objection to it.

Mr. Hale liked the amendment of Mr. Chase, but at the proper time he wanted an opportunity to vote directly upon the Wilmot Proviso, which, if no one else would move, he would. After some remarks upon the resolutions of the free State legislatures, binding their senators to vote for the Proviso, he said—I say that, for one, I stand by the infamy of that measure—the Ordinance of 1787—and I am ready to sustain it; I am willing to stagger under the load, the opprobrium, that may be heaped upon the man that adheres to the old track, and walks in the steps of the fathers of the country. The senator from Kentucky, the other day (I have not his speech before me, but it made such an impression upon me that I recollect the import of it), said he thought if this Compromise Bill was passed, everybody would be satisfied—

Mr. Clay—No, Sir; no.

Mr. Hale—I have not completed my sentence. The hon. senator will please to wait till I get through. He said that everybody would be satisfied except—except—

A Senator—Present company.

Mr. Hale—No, not present company, but except a few miserable fanatics. Now, Sir, to use a homely phrase, permit me to tell that honourable senator that he could not bring a better grist to the hopper for these fanatics to grind than this same Compromise Bill. No, Sir; by no possibility could a measure be devised or matured that could better answer the purpose of these “miserable fanatics.” (O, the wretches!) No, Sir; if there are any that want to give them food, let them pass this Compromise Bill, and they will have enough to do. Now, Sir, I have only to say this for myself—and I say it for myself and constituents—that, upon this question, my motto shall be: “If the Lord be God, serve him; and, if Baal, serve him.” There is, there can be legitimately no compromise upon the question whether the American Government at this day should place itself upon the side of freedom or of slavery. There can be and there ought to be no compromise between the question whether slavery shall be extended into territories now free by the direct action of this Government. And, Sir, I, for one, shall vote against any amendment which is to wrap up the plain, naked features of this proposition by circumlocution—some amendment about which no two members of the Senate can agree as to what it means. I want a distinct proposition; and if the policy of this Government from its foundation is to be abandoned—if the counsels and the experience of past time are to be set at naught—and if we are to-day to launch out on a new experiment of extending the blessing of liberty to the institution of human slavery—let it be known—let gentlemen do the work, and do it openly. And if that is the price upon which the Union is to be preserved, let that issue go out to the American people, and I doubt not they will understand it—understand it from the North and South, from the East and West. I believe it is a libel upon them, and upon any part of them, live where they may, in whatever State they may, to say that, upon such an issue as that, they are ready to venture upon the dangerous effects of a dissolution of the Union. I do not believe it. I think more highly of the intelligence, as well as of the patriotism, of the citizens of each and every one of the States of this Union. What is the use, then, of spending time and multiplying words about amendments that it seems no two gentlemen understand exactly alike? I think that the words of the provision of the ordinance of 1787, are pretty well understood by this time. We know what they mean. We understand it; and I hope and trust that before this bill is through, we can all have the privilege and opportunity of voting for a proposition which we and the country understand.

After a speech from Mr. Dodge of Iowa, in reply to Mr. Hale, a rejoinder by Mr. Hale, and a few remarks from Messrs. Berrien and Dayton,

The Senate adjourned.

June 3.

Mr. Hale presented numerous anti-slavery petitions.

Mr. Seward presented the report of proceedings of citizens of Syracuse, condemning the delay of public business in Congress, demanding the admission of California, insisting upon the expediency of establishing territorial Governments with the Proviso, protesting against any fugitive law not securing the jury trial and *habeas corpus*, asserting the duty of Congress to pass laws for the security of any person from a free State who may choose to visit the slave States on business or for pleasure, and protesting against all compromises in favour of slavery. Laid upon the table. Mr. Seward accompanied the presentation of the memorial with remarks stating that the meeting was without distinction of party, and that the mayor presided.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the Omnibus Bill, on which a protracted debate took place, in which Messrs. Davis of Mis-



Mississippi, Douglas, Chase, Hale, Walker, King, Cass, Downs, Butler, Webster, and Berrien, participated.

Mr. Soule in the beginning of the debate submitted a substitute, which he wished printed. It proposes to bound the State of California by 36 deg. 30 min., as its southern boundary, and to organise the territory below that line under a territorial Government without the Proviso.

The debate on the whole subject was discursive and interesting, but no progress seemed to be made towards a concurrence of opinion.

#### INVASION OF CUBA BY CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

A second attempt has been made to invade and revolutionise Cuba. The arrangements for the expedition were made and consummated with great secrecy and deception. New Orleans was the grand focus of operation. A communication, dated the 3rd of May, appears to have given the first intimation of the reality of the expedition, and which, after remarking on the incredulity which prevailed upon the subject at the North, stated that the arrangements for carrying it into effect were progressing with great rapidity, and upon a large scale. On the 2nd, two ships fully loaded with passengers, ostensibly emigrants for California, left New Orleans for Chagres, and, within the ten days previous, more than 1,000 men had embarked for that city, all of whom, there was good reason to believe, were enlisted in the same undertaking. None of them were recruited at New Orleans, but they all came from the interior, or from the neighbouring States—many of them from Alabama—and on reaching the city, they were immediately and quietly embarked on board the vessels in waiting for them. Another communication stated that three large steamships were engaged in the enterprise, one of which had left New Orleans a few days before with 300 men. A sailing vessel, with over 200, was to leave on the 4th. It was understood that many persons had been engaged upon a service, the nature of which was not disclosed to them. They were offered liberal pay in advance, and were required to proceed to New Orleans, where it was said they would receive further directions. All these communications, with others of a similar character, which it is not necessary to detail, rendered it extremely probable that New Orleans was to be the starting point of the expedition, though the place of rendezvous was not known. All the movements were so cautiously taken as to preclude the possibility of legal interference. Generals Lopez and Gonzales were in New Orleans *incognito* on the 1st of May, and casual observers noted the unusual number of new faces in town. Gen. Quitman had been in the city a few days previous, and it was asserted, and generally credited, that he originally intended to resign his office as Governor of Mississippi, and take command of the expedition. His presence in New Orleans, however, led to warm remonstrances on the part of personal friends, and it was believed that he had been induced to change his purpose. The number of men engaged in this expedition was said to be larger than that of those engaged in the previous attempt. It has been stated as high as 12,000 or 13,000; but this was evidently an exaggeration. Judicious persons, however, who had good opportunities of forming an opinion, stated that 4000 or 5000 were undoubtedly engaged. They appear to have had plenty of money, though it is stated that the men engaged for no stipulated pay, but mainly on assurances of rich rewards from plunder and confiscations, if the expedition should prove successful. They were assured, in the strongest terms, by their leaders, that the island was utterly unprepared for resistance,—that the forts were defenceless—the troops disaffected, officers as well as men, and that the great mass of the inhabitants would rise and join the invaders, as soon as a landing should have been effected.

The United States Government seem to have taken no notice of the rumours which had been so prevalent until the 20th of May, when a Washington paper, the *Republic*, gave the following information:—"Within the last few days information has been received by the Government, rendering it most probable that a military organisation has been set on foot within the United States, formidable both in numbers and from the character of those engaged in it, for the purpose of attacking the island of Cuba, and revolutionising the Government."

"We are informed that the President of the United States, immediately upon the receipt of the information, directed orders to be issued for the vessels of the Home Squadron, as also for the steamer *Saranac* and frigate *Congress*, to proceed forthwith to the island of Cuba, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any military force, organised in the United States, was proceeding from thence to Cuba for the purpose of invading that island, and revolutionising the Government; with express instructions, in the event of such being the case, to prevent the landing of any such force, or the carrying out of any such expedition or enterprise; and with further instructions, in the event of a landing having been effected, to prevent the landing of any reinforcement, or of any arms or provisions, under the American flag, intended for such expedition or enterprise. In obedience to these orders, we understand that the steamer *Saranac* proceeded to sea on Saturday last, and will probably reach Cuba about Thursday next, where it is expected she will meet the *Germantown*, the *Albany*, and the *Vixen*.

"It is confidently expected that the whole naval force ordered thither

will reach the island of Cuba before any considerable number of those engaged in the enterprise can possibly have effected a landing, and thus prevent the violation of our treaty obligations of amity and peace with Spain."

It was asserted by those who had been instructed as to the nature of the operations of the buccaneers, that the northern coast, between Matanzas and Neuviitas, was to be the place of landing. In addition to other proclamations issued by General Lopez, was one to the people of Cuba. We give a paragraph as a specimen:--

"The country calls you through my voice! The occasion is propitious; the enemy is impotent; and success is sure; the glory imperishable. ONLY ONE BLOW, and the chains which oppress us fall for ever to the earth! Come to my side, and uphold the banner of Liberty! The star of Cuba, which shines in this flag, shall be raised, beautiful and refulgent, ever to float upon the breeze in independent glory; ever to augment its pure and virgin light, if thus the sovereign people of the sublime North American people shall determine to whom the path of our destiny seems to point!"

Considerable excitement existed in the United States on the subject, and the papers generally, although professedly opposed to the illegality of the whole procedure, nevertheless gave strong expressions of their hope of success.

Subsequent information imparted the exciting intelligence of the landing of General Lopez, and the taking of Cardenas by the invading forces. Cardenas is a small sea-port on the northern coast of Cuba, about 100 miles east of Havana, and about forty or fifty from Matanzas. Its population in the year 1846 was 3,103, and it has probably not increased materially since then. General Lopez landed at Cardenas on the 17th of May, with about 500 men, and took possession of the town. The garrison consisted of one company of about sixty men, who made but a slight resistance. They were driven into a church, and after losing three men killed, they surrendered. The General landed in the steamer *Creole*, which left New Orleans on the 7th. Several other vessels left New Orleans previous to the *Creole*, containing in all twelve or fifteen hundred men, but where they were to land was not known. The greatest excitement existed in Havana, amounting to a panic. The city was under martial law, and several thousand militia had been enrolled, and arms were being given them. The resident foreigners were called upon to enrol. There were 1,500 troops at Matanzas, and 800 were dispatched from Havana, to reinforce them and march against Lopez. It was rumoured that the force under Lopez had increased to 2,000 men, and that he was already half way to Matanzas. On the 16th, news was received that a large body was collected on Woman's Island, near Cape Catoche, Yucatan. The General of Marines, with several vessels and about 3,000 men, started immediately for that point. At length the Spanish steamer *Pizzaro* came in with 105 prisoners. It was said that they were mostly Germans and Irish. The report was, that they were to be shot that day at twelve o'clock, or at least, one out of every ten; the balance to be confined in the dungeons of Moro Castle. It was reported that Lopez had broken up the railroad to Cardenas in several places. The merchants and bankers in Havana were removing their money, &c., to the fort, for safety.

The United States vessels *Ohio*, *Georgia*, and *Falcon*, were compelled to anchor at the entrance of the harbour. Captain Schenck protested through the American Consul to the Captain-General, and demanded a safe anchorage, but was refused, and was told he might go to sea as soon as he pleased. None of the passengers were permitted to go on shore except those having passports. No communication was allowed between the passengers, not even between the officers, until a permit was obtained from the Captain-General.

It is difficult to gain precise information as to the further operations of the invaders, but the next intelligence received clearly showed that the attempt at invasion had ended most disastrously. Four of the buccaneers had been executed and 200 of them imprisoned. General Lopez had found it prudent to make his escape, leaving a large number of his deluded followers to shift for themselves. It is said that the other vessels had not effected a landing, and that the war vessels of the United States were using their endeavours to prevent their coming into communication with the Spanish frigates or the shore.

General Lopez addressed the citizens of Mobile on the 31st of May, explaining the causes of the defeat of the expedition.

The question has since been brought before the Criminal Court of the United States; the following is the finding of the Grand Jury:—

"The Grand Jury, under instructions of the Court, have instituted an investigation as to the hostile invasion of the island of Cuba, and have directed me to state to the Court that, in their opinion, sufficient evidence has not been presented to authorise the indictment of any person or persons for criminal violation of the laws of the United States within this district.

"NORMAN WHITE, Foreman."

Later information states that General Lopez has since been arrested in New Orleans by order of the President.



## AFRICAN DISCOVERY—THE INLAND LAKE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The following letter, which we have abridged, appears in the Cape Town *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*. It is from the pen of Mr. G. Eveleigh, dated Riversdale, January 23, 1850, who is evidently ably qualified for affording much valuable information on the subject in question. He states he has been for fifteen years collecting information on the subject of the geography and productions of Central Africa:—

Extending from Cape Guardafui, through Abyssinia and Donga, is an immense chain of mountains, in lat. from about 4 to 10 deg. north, and from about 18 to 52 deg. eastern longitude. This, for distinction, I shall call the *Eastern Range*. From 6 to 18 deg. east, the range is interrupted, and the rivers Quorra and Shary pass through towards the Gulf of Guinea; thence westward to Cape Verda, is what I shall term the *Western Range*. In long. from 20 to 27 deg. east, and from 6 deg. north to 10 deg. south lat., is what I shall term the *Southern Range*, consisting of high mountains and table-land, which, in the north, is continuous with the Eastern Range, but which, in the south, is divided into two parts or *chains*; the one, continued eastward for 5 deg., thence runs *South-east* till it joins the mountains westward of Mozambique, which run nearly due north. Between this south-eastern part of the Eastern Chain of the Southern Range and the mountains westward of Mozambique is the *great lake Maravi*. The other part or *chain* of the Southern Range extends *south-west* towards Cape Frio. From the southern part of this chain extend, towards Sofala and the mountains of Natal, *continuations* of the same mountains, but more in the form of hilly undulations or table-land; in these *continuations*, and in extensive table-land, near to where the *continuations* are given off from the *South Western Chain* of the Southern Range, is situated the *newly-discovered lake*. The whole of these ranges of mountains are not, generally speaking, difficult of access, but slope gradually off, and are accompanied through nearly their whole extent by extensive table-land, and abound in forests and grassy plains and hills. The climate is salubrious and cool, and vegetation is most luxuriant.

Now, by looking over the lines formed by the mountains above described, we may easily conjecture the courses of the principal rivers; the native reports confirm these conjectures, and all the mystery of their sources is at once unravelled. Between the *Eastern Chain of the Southern Range* and the *continuations* is situated the Zambezi, with its twenty mouths, and which is, in all probability, the proper outlet for the waters of the New Lake, especially as the natives say that the waters of the Zambezi come from a "great lake far in the mountains." The Zambezi is accompanied by the most pestilential swamps as it approaches the sea, and being almost surrounded by the mountains, as above described, is one of the most unhealthy parts of the world. If it does not actually rise from the New Lake, it rises not more than thirty or forty miles from it; but it is my firm belief that the waters of the New Lake are discharged into the Zambezi. Although in the Delta of the Zambezi it is so unhealthy, yet in the mountains round it, and in the neighbourhood of the New Lake, the climate is most salubrious. Northward of the New Lake is extensive table-land, until the river *Munucuru* is approached, which, winding through and along the *Eastern Chain* of the Southern Range, discharges itself into the Lake Maravi, which again discharges its waters into the river Lindy, which has even more mouths than the Zambezi, and is nearly as unhealthy; and, as it approaches the sea, is accompanied with very extensive swamps. Lake Maravi is, however, comparatively healthy. The Lindy also carries off the waters of the Southern Range and the northern side of the Eastern Chain, and is the largest river along the eastern coast; but the River Juba is the most navigable, and much more healthy. The main streams of these two rivers, the Lindy and the Juba, describe nearly a circle, the former the southern semi-circle, and the latter the northern. Nearly all trade on the Zambezi has been ruined by the slave-trade, which still exists, but not to the extent which formerly prevailed. The rivers Lindy and Juba are now the greatest markets for slaves in the world; as many as six or eight vessels have been known to be loading at one time in the river Juba, some as far up as three or four hundred miles from the sea. In the river Lindy, vessels can go up one stream, and if chased, go down another, and proceed to sea. Along these rivers are numerous villages, in which parties of slave-hunters exist, who make long tours into the interior for the purpose of carrying off men, women, and children, but principally the latter; who are generally secured while asleep and immediately hurried, one or two men dragging, while a third flogs, to a *depôt*, where they are fastened and guarded till a sufficient number are obtained; they are then brought down to the villages along the rivers, where the slave-vessels await them. Many other rivers exist, and lakes also; I have only described those which are most important for present consideration.

Along the whole eastern coast, only two towns are important for trade, and their trade is almost exclusively confined to the Arabian merchants. These are Brava and Mombas. The chief articles of export are gold, ivory, and gums. Brava is about one-third the size of Cape Town; Mombas is somewhat smaller, but not less important, and is one of the

safest and finest ports in the world. The trade of Mozambique, Quillimane, and other Portuguese settlements, has been ruined by the slave-trade. Columba root is now one of their chief articles of export. It is well known that no country in the world yields such valuable gums as Africa, and almost all these gums are brought from the interior. I believe the gum-trade, properly cultivated, would prove more valuable than the richest mines, and amply repay the trouble of exploring the interior.

The chief articles of export found in the interior of Africa are, gold and gold-dust, cassia or coarse cinnamon, galls, ginger, gum Arabic, ivory, mace, nutmegs, cloves, and various spices; coffee, columba root, cubebis galbanum, talc, bees'-wax, kino, musk, amber, caoutchouc, sandal wood, guaiacum, palm oil, ochilla, cork, myrrh, mastich, olibanum, gamboge, copal, benzoin, ebony, cotton, indigo, sugar, camwood, opobalsam, ostrich feathers, and valuable skins; and to these may be added silver, copper, mercury, and many other valuable ores, &c. And along the eastern coast many other articles might be mentioned, as ambergris, tortoise-shell, &c., &c. Throughout the whole course of those chains of mountains which intersect the interior, and in the numerous streams which fertilise their sides and plains, gold is to be found,—but most abundantly in the mountains which supply the waters of the rivers Juba and Lindy; and from the descriptions I have heard of these mountains, I have no doubt of the existence of copper, silver, mercury, and other metals, or their ores, in great abundance. The inland tribes collect most of the above productions, and barter them with the tribes who live nearer the coast, and bring them to the towns or villages for sale or shipment, but who are more often plundered and made slaves! The country in the interior is universally spoken of as richly luxuriant in verdure, well timbered and watered. The principal fruits are cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, plantains, dates, mangoes, guavas, custard-apples, pine-apples, &c.

If zealous men set to work, there is now every chance of opening a direct trade through the centre of Africa and the Cape; I have long studied this problem, and I see it daily approaching maturity. I formerly advocated the coasting trade, but there are difficulties which are at present almost insurmountable. The slave-trade, the lying character and influence of the semi-Portuguese and Arab inhabitants in supporting that murderous trade, their depraved habits, their dread of English encroachment, and, lastly, the pestilential coast-fever, are the chief obstacles to the coasting trade; nevertheless, when what I now propose is established, all these difficulties will fade as a mist before the rising sun. If, therefore, a connexion or easy communication could be found or established between the New Lake and the colony, either partly by sea and the rivers, and partly overland, or overland altogether, there would be no difficulty in extending it far into the interior; whilst the most unhealthy parts of the swamps of the Zambezi and other rivers would be avoided. To this point, therefore, public attention should be first directed, because it leads at once to the table-lands, which border the chain of mountains, along which nearly the whole length and breadth of Africa can be traversed in the interior, without approaching the miasmatical swamps which are so fatal to Europeans. In the inland route which I propose there are no fevers to contend with, and the fears and prejudices of the natives, by kindness and gentleness, and gifts, will soon be overcome; and with their affections and confidence once gained, we can bid defiance to the slave-trade; while confusion and terror will take hold of the Arabs and Portuguese, who must either leave the coast or perish in the pestilential swamps which surround them. With such a road open, what would hinder commerce and civilisation advancing with rapid strides? The natives, instead of being obliged to take their produce and collections from the interior to the sea, at the risk of being plundered and kidnapped for slaves, would find, without any fear at all, a far better market in the interior itself—Earl Grey would learn "the value of a colony" when supplies of manufactures are demanded for millions of inhabitants!

I trust I have now said sufficient to prove the ability and advantages of exploring the interior of Africa, and of opening out a channel for internal trade, &c., on the widest footing. I will only add a few words on its feasibility. In order to effect the desired object, there should be established at the Cape a *Pioneering Society*, supported by free contributions, whose work should never cease till the grand objects of its labours be achieved. Under its direction an exploring party should be sent towards the New Lake, and upon its borders, or at some other suitable places, a *depôt* or *depôts* should be established, so as to keep up constant and easy communications; from these *depôts* other exploring parties should also be sent out, in such directions as may appear most suitable, so as to ascertain how the waters of the Lake are supplied, and in what direction they pass off,—to find out the best routes for traders to follow, and to what extent the rivers and Lake are navigable,—to conciliate the natives and encourage them to trade, and to extend intercourse as much as possible; but the first object will be to find out the nearest, safest, and most convenient route from the Cape to the New Lake. This being accomplished, it will not be difficult to extend the operations of the Society, not only to a greater extent, but to still more useful results.

Three routes to the New Lake appear practicable, viz.:—overland, *via* Lattakoo, thence through the Karrie Karria country, the rivers of which most likely lead towards the Lake; or *via* the Orange River and Borra-



daile's River, thence overland towards the Lake,—as, between Borradaile's River and the Lake, another river will be found flowing north-east and leading to the Lake, which river carries off the waters from the northern side of the hills and plains in which the Borradaile's River rises;—or a desirable route may be found between Walvisch Bay and the Lake. One or other of those routes, therefore, should be attempted first, and the others examined afterwards. Such a Society, once fairly established, will never want supporters;—the advantages it will afford, *if properly conducted*, to commerce and civilisation, would soon be so apparent. Who are they, then, that will nobly come forward to establish and support so magnificent and disinterested a scheme,—a scheme which seeks not its own profit, but the benefit of all classes connected with this vast Continent?

### Foreign Intelligence.

**UNITED STATES.—CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.**—This convention was held at Cincinnati. The attendance was not as large as many of the friends had hoped, owing, as it is supposed, to a mistake in the printed circular sent out, in which the fourth Wednesday of April, instead of the 17th, was named as the day of its assembling. About 150 delegates, representing most of the leading evangelical denominations of the country, enrolled their names as members. It was a "Christian Alliance," met to declare their sympathy with the oppressed members of Christ, and to form some plan for the purifying of his church.

Hon. Judge Stevens, of Indiana, was chosen President of the Convention. Six Vice-Presidents and four Secretaries were chosen.

A Committee on Resolutions reported a long series of consecutive resolutions, all necessarily dependent on the first, which declared slaveholding to be a sin, that ought everywhere to be immediately repented of. These resolutions were discussed with deep interest.

The first day was occupied in settling the preliminaries. On the second day the business of the convention commenced. The discussions were entered upon, and continued without abatement of interest to the last. The great absorbing questions were:—

1. The nature and character of slavery.
2. The relations which the churches and Missionary Societies sustain to this evil.

3. What is the duty of churches and Christians in the matter? The speeches, or most of them, at least, were of the right cast—kind, yet decided and direct. There was no shrinking from the great issue. The appalling power of slavery over the social and religious interests of the nation were portrayed with great truth and eloquence; so that none who listened could doubt that we have reached a fearful crisis, where, as anti-slavery Christians, we have a most solemn duty to perform. The position of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations was shown to be pro-slavery. Some of these denominations were well represented, while others seemed to take no interest in the question at issue. A large number of Presbyterians were in the convention, and if we may judge from the spirit manifested, a powerful secession will take place in that direction. The Methodist Episcopal church was not fully represented. The Wesleys were quite well represented by Edward Smith, and others. Of the Baptists, but few were there. There is no doubt that Conservatism is the prevailing feeling amongst the larger class of professed Baptists. There is no doubt that the formation of the A. B. M. Union has greatly tended to kill anti-slavery feeling and action amongst the Baptists. But, thank God, some are free to think and act for the slave."

Rev. J. G. Fee, of Kentucky, presented the following, which was finally adopted, without a dissenting voice:—

"*Resolved*,—That the friends of a pure Christianity ought to separate themselves from all slaveholding churches, and all churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary associations, that are not fully divorced from slaveholding; and we, who may still be in connexion with such bodies, pledge ourselves that we will separate ourselves from them, unless they will speedily separate themselves from all support of, or fellowship with slaveholding."

After the vote on this resolution, Rev. Mr. Boynton, of Cincinnati, returned thanks for the unanimity with which this result had been reached. Provision was made for future meetings of the convention, by appointing a committee, with power to call a meeting at such time and place as they may deem expedient. The convention then adjourned.

A full report of the proceedings of the convention will be prepared by the secretaries for general distribution.

**METHODIST PROTESTANTS ON SLAVERY.**—The Protestant Methodist body, which is a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and extends over North and South, have had, at their late sessions, in quadrennial conference at Baltimore; a contest on the subject of slavery, which bids fair to effect a breach similar to that which sundered the original body a few years since. The members of the church residing in the North are very generally anti-slavery; and Rev. J. J. Smith, of the New York Conference, submitted the following resolutions:—

"That the word 'white,' in the 12th article of the Constitution, is

both injurious to our cause and subversive of our principles as a church, and, therefore, ought to be removed.

"That its removal would be no injury to the Southern section of our church; having full power guaranteed to them by the Constitution to make their own regulations on all subjects, providing they confine themselves to the restrictions of that document and the Holy Scriptures.

"That this Conference instruct their delegates to vote for the expunging of the word 'white' from the article aforesaid."

The object of these resolutions is to extend the right of suffrage to the coloured members of the church, and to make them eligible to office. A motion to lay the resolutions upon the table was the signal for an exciting debate. The motion was finally lost, and the resolutions were referred to the executive committee. This committee reported that they had no jurisdiction over the subject of slavery. Hereupon another fierce debate ensued, which resulted in sending the subject back again to the committee. We have not heard that any disposition has been made of the matter. But it strikes us that the Southern delicacy, which revolts at so mild an aspect of justice towards the race as these resolutions propose, must be of a strong type.—*New York Evangelist*.

**CAN SLAVERY GO INTO CALIFORNIA?**—There can be no doubt that many slaves are at present employed in working the mines of California, and that they meet with similar treatment to which they have been accustomed in the United States. The press of the country gives striking proofs of the fact, and by way of illustration we select the following:—Two men were seen at San Jose, according to the *Alta California*, in sharp contest. The white beat the black, and cries of shame were heard, when the master was taken in custody. Soon the parties were brought before the Alcalde. The white man, at first, set the court at defiance. But he was sobered down, when he made the following statement:—"That negro is my slave; I brought him from home with me. He has been among the free negroes of the town, getting drunk and doing as he pleased. I made up my mind to leave town this evening, and determined to take him along with me. I met him in the street, and told him he must go. This he refused to do. I then leaned down to take up a stick to chastise him, when he seized me and flung me down. I then broke a stick over his head, which I had a right to do. He is my property, and I intend to have him, and give him a good two hundred lashes in the bargain." The court yielded. The slave had been brought into California before the constitution was formed, and upon that ground he was ordered to go to await his master's orders. In the meantime he was ordered to be publicly scourged. A writ of habeas corpus was granted afterwards by Judge Bennet, but it was ascertained that the negro had been delivered to his master, and there the matter ended. This man is now a slave, and is likely to remain so, notwithstanding the Mexican laws, about the omnipotence of which Mr. Benton speaks with such confidence, and notwithstanding the law of God in favour of freedom in California, which Mr. Webster thinks it would be mere trifling for Congress to re-enact. Should California be denied admission to the Union this summer, and the slavery interest be permitted to triumph in consequence of the anti-slavery clause in her constitution, the Pacific territory would swarm with cases just like this.—*Evening Post*.

There is too much reason to believe that slavery is insidiously stealing into California. The Havana correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, in a late number of that paper, says—"On our vessel are quite a number from Kentucky, several taking with them slaves under an agreement to give them their freedom for two years' services in the mines."

We have before us a number of the *Cherokee Advocate* of February 4th, containing a letter from Peter L. Thompson, one of a company of California emigrants from the south, who had taken slaves out with them. The following is the account he gives of slavery in California. After announcing their purpose to spare a portion of their force this summer for farming purposes, he proceeds:—"The constitution lately formed, as you doubtless have observed in the papers, has declared this a free State; but I do not think it will interfere with our arrangements. Others, who have brought theirs on, do not feel under any apprehension. A day or two since, a gentleman from Arkansas had some difficulty with one of his servants. It appeared that some abolitionists put it into the negro's head that he was as free as his master, and persuaded the boy to demand of his master something to start upon, and that they would see him out in it. No sooner, however, had the boy made the demand, than his master tied him up and called out to the men who had promised to stand up to him, to come on, as he intended to give him a flogging; no one appeared. The poor boy—the victim of abolitionism—took his whipping and returned to his work."

Is it any wonder, in view of these facts, that the slavery propagandists should be meditating schemes of wholesale slave exportation to the shores of the Pacific? The newspapers of the South are furnishing sufficient evidence of this infernal purpose, while such men as Clay, Webster, and Cass, are talking about slavery being prohibited by an irrevocable law of God in certain latitudes. General Briscoe, for example, is no doubt of their way of thinking.

Says the *Natchez Free Trader*:—

"Parmenas Briscoe, the father of the famous Briscoe Bill of quo



warranto against the swindling Mississippi banks, has gone to California, with probably the largest slave force that has ever been taken there by one owner. His energy and enterprise will, we doubt not, settle the question, and General Briscoe is but one of the large number of Mississippi planters who intend to test the value of slave labour in mining."

The *Jackson Mississippian* of April 12th says:—"The elements of a slave colony are in existence. We have had the opportunity of personally knowing the fact, and we now say that it is comprised of citizens of several of our southern States—some of whom are well known in the Union. Letters have passed through our hands only this past week, from citizens of Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia, in each of which propositions are made to join the colony with slaves."

"Let it be understood, and pondered upon, that 5,000 slaves will be sent to California before the expiration of this year, if the odious measure now before Congress, to admit California with territory enough for a dozen States can be, as it ought to be, repudiated by Congress."

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.—COTTON CULTIVATION.**—Mr. McGeachy, who was one of the first to turn the attention of the proprietary of the colony to the subject of cotton cultivation, by showing that it could be grown as successfully there as in the United States, in a letter to the *Morning Journal*, thus writes of the success that has attended his efforts:—

"It is cheering to notice the progress making on this subject throughout Jamaica. I have letters from all parts, having distributed seeds in the last three months since my return from America all over this island."

"The English papers notice and commend our movement in it, and from America the accounts are cheering. Friends of mine there are securing seeds for me which *were not to be bought*, and a considerable quantity of seeds have already arrived in the island."

"Samples of Jamaica cotton which I sent to America are highly thought of. My correspondent writes to me as follows:—'They (the samples) have been examined narrowly by a good many of our most intelligent planters, and from their manner of talking, I should say, that if they could depend upon the regular supply of labour, no time would be lost in embarking in the planting of cotton in Jamaica. I myself will soon make up my mind about becoming a Jamaica cotton planter. I am very strongly prejudiced in favour of it, and so are many of my most intimate friends.'"

**ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN JAMAICA.**—In the course of their visitation of this island, our friends, Messrs. Alexander and Candler, have held several interesting and useful meetings, which have generally been largely attended. We have received information of their proceedings, which we should have been glad to have transferred to our columns, but we are compelled to confine ourselves to a simple notification of the fact, and to give the resolutions of one of the meetings as a general index to the whole. We may mention that these meetings have been attended by ministers of the Gospel of various denominations, by planters, and the labouring population generally. The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting held at Montego Bay, on the 7th of May last, Archdeacon Williams in the chair.

1. "Resolved—That this meeting regards slavery and the slave-trade as two of the greatest crimes that afflict and disgrace humanity—as wholly at variance with the just and benign principles of the Gospel, and as seriously opposed to the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of every community in which they are perpetuated."

2. "That this meeting desires to record the deep interest with which it has heard of efforts now making in the United States of America—a country intimately connected with Great Britain by the ties of common origin and affection—for the abolition of slavery in that great Republic. This meeting deeply sympathises with the sufferings of American slaves, whom they would regard as being bound with them—and earnestly desires that, through the blessing of God, speedy success may crown the labours of those benevolent Christian men, in the States of the American Union, who are engaged in the endeavour to break the bonds of the oppressor, and to let the oppressed go free."

3. "That whilst this meeting contemplates with the highest satisfaction and pleasure, the Acts passed by the British Government for abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, it feels bound to deprecate, in the strongest manner, the Sugar Duty Act of 1846, as being in its tendency directly opposed to the previous anti-slave-trade and anti-slavery measures of legislation adopted by the British Parliament, and in consequence of the serious discouragement and injuries it has occasioned in the British emancipated colonies, as well as on account of the encouragement it has afforded to slavery and the slave-trade, by opening a new and enlarged market in the mother country, to sugar produced by the unrequited labour of slaves. This meeting would therefore record its conviction of the necessity of so far modifying the Sugar Act of 1846, as to exclude from British consumption, in future, the sugars of slaveholding countries, and especially the sugars of Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico,

until Brazil and Spain have fully carried out their treaties and stipulations with Great Britain, by giving freedom to all slaves, now living, who have been introduced into Brazil and the Spanish West India colonies, in violation of those treaties."

"4. That this meeting approves of the principles, and sympathises with the efforts of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, for the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and resolves to form an auxiliary Anti-slavery Society, in connexion with the Parent Society in Great Britain, to be called the 'St. James's Auxiliary Anti-slavery Society,' and appoints the following gentlemen as the officers and committee-men for the present year, with power to add to their number."

Similar meetings have been held at Falmouth, Waldensia, Brown's Town, Sturge Town, Lucia, Savana-la-Mar, &c. &c.

**BRITISH GUIANA.—COURT OF POLICY, APRIL 12TH.—Chinese and African Immigration.**—To-day the court was occupied some time in reading a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and other papers transmitted by his Lordship, comprising a long correspondence respecting immigration from China. From these documents, it appears that male immigrants, in considerable numbers, may be obtained from China, at a cost of 150 dollars per head, payable to the gentleman willing to act as agent. The wages and rations to be allowed the people are estimated to be equivalent to six and a half dollars per month for a five years' residence, supposing that none died. The papers were referred to the Commissioners of Immigration Correspondence.

Another correspondence with respect to immigration from Sierra Leone, also transmitted by the Secretary of State, was next read. It was conjectured, that from the decline of the timber trade in that colony, a considerable number of labourers would be thrown out of employment about summer; and that the gentlemen who had contracted for the conveyance of liberated Africans to the West Indians were willing to provide conveyance for these people also at £5 per head. It was suggested that a bounty of £1 to each of the Kroomen might induce them to forego their claims to a return passage. A resolution was agreed to, requesting his Excellency the Governor to take the necessary measures for securing for British Guiana as many of these African labourers as possible, and authorising the payment of the price asked for transport and the bounty to the Kroomen, provided the Secretary of State could be induced to sanction engagements with them under contracts for a service of five years.

The estimate was afterwards closed. The total amount to be provided for is 776,287 dollars 39 cents, but in this sum are included the deficiencies of the last two years, which are, for the immigration loan, 158,562 dollars 80 cents, and for unpaid accounts, 21,964 dollars 25 cents, leaving 613,760 dollars 34 cents, as the actual amount of the estimate for the service of the year 1850.

**ARRIVAL OF CAPTURED AFRICANS.**—We have had another gratifying accession of "labour force" to-day, by the arrival of the *Glenteng*, in twenty days from St. Helena, with 404 captured Africans on board, all we understand in a healthy state, although five deaths occurred during the passage.—*Colonist*, April 12.

**TRINIDAD.—COOLIE IMMIGRATION.**—Proceedings in the Council, May 1.—Mr. Rennie.—There appeared on the order of the day book the motion of which he had given notice at the last meeting of the Board for the immediate introduction of 1,000 Coolies. The question of immigration was one which had been so fully and frequently discussed here, that it was probably unnecessary for him to occupy the time of the Board at much length. When the policy of accepting their portion of the parliamentary loan of half a million was discussed at the Board a few months ago, it was agreed that it should only be availed of for immigration, and that only when suitable and efficient regulations were in force. Since then, an immigration ordinance had passed the Board, modeled on an ordinance sent out for our guidance by Earl Grey, similar to one which is in operation and which has been found to work satisfactorily in Mauritius. This ordinance is intended to secure more continuous industrial labour from the immigrant, and with that object in view it certainly imposed checks on the Coolie not heretofore permitted, from which we may anticipate great benefit. It is, besides, based on the principle of making immigration in a manner support itself, so that the general funds of the colony will be but slightly trencched upon to maintain it. On this ordinance passing the Board, a resolution was proposed by the Attorney-General and carried unanimously, to the effect of appropriating special revenue to meet the stipulations of the Lords of the Treasury relative to the parliamentary loan, and £100,000 of it was requested to be held at the disposal of this colony for immigration purposes. He had just returned from the Naparimas and other quarters, and the cry from one end of them to the other was the scarcity of labour; and if this was the case now, what was likely to be the position of the country when the Coolies begin to leave? and, as his Excellency stated at the last meeting, and he knew it to be the case, every Coolie in the country will return home at the expiration of his term of service. In now advocating further Coolie immigration, he did not do so because he considered it the best or the cheapest immigration—far from it—but seeing the pressing requirements



of the country, and that Africa is still closed to us, India is the only place left to resort to for labourers to maintain cultivation. Neither did he at all deceive himself into the pleasing belief that it would enable them to surmount the slave competition they were subjected to, which is yearly becoming more trying and oppressive. Yet without it, in the absence of any other source of supply, he saw not a prospect of estates being kept alive until such time as they could discern more clearly what would be the result of the existing anomalous and precarious state of affairs. His own impression was, that present prices are as little remunerative to the slave grower as they are to ourselves, and if they hold up for a year or two their prospects may meliorate; by that time that mawkish philanthropy at home which prevents our securing labourers from Africa may have subsided; while, if they now relinquished the struggle, their case was hopeless, and they would leave the field entirely to the slave grower. In his humble opinion the only practical mode of doing this was by means of a constant stream of immigration to a limited extent annually. Many might contend, and truly, that they could not afford to pay £14 or £15 a-head for Coolies to remain five years, and then provide a return passage; but this was no matter of choice—it was one of life and death—and expensive as Indian immigration had proved, he unhesitatingly stated his conviction that it—and it alone—had enabled Trinidad to keep up its exports, and maintain even its present reduced position. The Coolies had undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence on the other labourers in the colony. In proof of this, he might mention that an intelligent gentleman (a warden) in Naparima, largely interested in estates, told him last week that the Creoles were already congratulating themselves that the Coolies were going home—saying among themselves, “our time is coming again.” This was what the planters had to look forward to. And would anyone contend that they were in a position to pay advanced wages? True, large sums had been expended on Indian immigration, but whether these had not as well, and perhaps better, have been pitched into the Gulf of Paria, depended on their countenancing a moderate but regular immigration. He believed Coolies would in future be introduced at much less expense than heretofore; but their wants were so urgent that he did not clog the resolution, with stating any limit as to the cost of importation or term of residence, and he would leave it entirely to his Excellency to suggest to the Secretary of State the necessity of employing either British or American ships at the lowest possible cost, and to endeavour to get the stipulation for return passages abolished altogether, as it tended to unsettle the immigrant; but if the East India Company will not consent to this, that they be urged to extend the period of residence of the Coolies to seven years, to compensate for the greater expense of bringing them here than to the Mauritius. His Excellency would doubtless bring under the notice of the Secretary of State the improper selection of several of the Coolies sent here. In place of being all adapted to agricultural work, as was intended, many of them were aged and weakly, and unfit for any occupation. Those who were now on estates were working well and giving perfect satisfaction to their employers, and they were as muscular and fine a body of labourers as could possibly be desired for sugar cultivation here. He moved that his Excellency the Governor be respectfully requested to bring under the immediate consideration of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the colonies the pressing necessity which exists for the introduction, at the public expense, of 1000 Coolies into the colony with as little delay as possible.

Dr. Philip seconded the resolution.

Mr. Burnley moved an amendment that all the words after the word “expense,” be struck out, and the words “of at least 1000 Coolies into this colony during next year, and of the like number during the year 1852,” be inserted in lieu thereof. And in doing so the hon. gentleman declared that it was hardly necessary to say anything more upon the subject of the necessity for a continuous stream of immigration, which had been so ably advocated by his hon. friend, Mr. Rennie; only, instead of limiting the supply to 1000 Coolies for next year, he should have preferred passing a vote for 1000 Coolies annually, and had therefore moved the present amendment.

The amendment was carried unanimously.

A despatch was also read on the subject of Chinese immigration, which is strenuously advocated on the part of the planters.

**ST. LUCIA.—AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.**—Council, April 30.—The Report of the Committee was brought up and read, from which we extract the following:—“Although this colony is in a very depressed state, and its finances very low, such is the scarcity of labour, that we deem it highly advisable that your Excellency and the Honourable Board of the Legislative Council should adopt measures to receive, on the conditions stated in Earl Grey’s despatch, the free African immigrants who are probably now on their way to this colony, and if possible to provide for a further supply of such free Africans; but we fear that it will be found impracticable to recover ultimately from such immigrants the amount to

be paid by the colony for their passage, should their contracts be made for one year only, as in the case of liberated Africans. Your Committee would, therefore, suggest, for the consideration of your Excellency and the Honourable Board of Council, that as regards the Kroomen or other free Africans, contracts of three years’ duration should be entered into, the party contracting for the services of these Africans to pay a stamp duty of five pounds sterling for each, to be reimbursed by a deduction of one pound from the wages of the first year, of two pounds from the wages of the second year, and of two pounds from the wages of the third year; this will insure the reimbursement to the colony of the passage-money of such immigrants. We perceive that in addition to the five pounds per head to be advanced to the colony, and ultimately to be repaid by the labourer, Earl Grey suggests that an offer of one pound should be made to each Krooman, previous to embarking at Sierra Leone, in lieu of a promise of return passage. Your Committee are of opinion that such sum, instead of being to the charge of the colony, be supported by the party contracting for the services of such labourer, in case the contract be entered into for three years, as herein suggested.” An Ordinance, based on the above, has since passed the Council. The number of immigrants applied for by the planters amounts to 6,500, which they express their readiness to receive during a period of three years. The following resolution was adopted before the final passage of the Ordinance:—“That this Board pledges itself to provide, as a charge on the public revenue of St. Lucia, the amount necessary to reimburse any expenditure that may be incurred under the authority of her Majesty’s Government on account of the conveyance to this colony of Kroomen, or other African labourers, not being captured Africans.

**ARRIVAL OF LIBERATED AFRICANS.**—The ship *Tuskar*, Capt. Thomas Chapman, arrived on the 11th inst., by which, an acquisition is made to our labouring population of nearly six hundred Africans. The *Tuskar* sailed from Sierra Leone on the 26th of February last, with ninety-two immigrants, and proceeded to St. Helena, where she received 520 more, making in all 612 men, women, and children. With this number she took her departure from St. Helena on the 11th of April; and, after a voyage of seventy-four days, (having been thirty-seven days on the passage from Sierra Leone to St. Helena), she came to an anchor in our harbour on the 11th instant, having on board 572 emigrants—forty having died on the passage, one on the night of her arrival, and another on the following day. Of this number twenty-one have been lodged at the colonial hospital, and 548 have been variously distributed. We look upon this batch of Africans as a truly valuable acquisition to the island. Generally considered, they are young and constitutionally sound and healthy, in all appearance promising to be a fine rising race of efficient labourers,—the exception consisting only of a comparatively few cases out of the whole, labouring under catarrh, bronchitis, diarrhoea, and dysentery, ascribable to the difference of temperature between their native climate and that of St. Helena, and their sudden transition from one place to the other, as well as to the overcrowded state of the slave ships in which they had been captured. The party from Sierra Leone, we are informed, were in good health when taken on board the *Tuskar*, and continued so until they became mixed with those from St. Helena, who were received, on the contrary, in a very sickly and emaciated condition. Those from St. Helena, it appears, belonged to four different prizes,—some fifty of them having been captured by the *Pluto* and *Cyclops*, about fifty days before their embarkation for this island; and 470 by the *Rattler* and *Water Witch*, about twenty days.—*Palladium*, May 17th.

**ST. VINCENT.—ARRIVAL OF CAPTURED AFRICANS.**—The *Atlantic*, 1042 tons, Capt. Ross, arrived this day from St. Helena, after twenty-nine days’ passage, having on board 297 liberated Africans. Three hundred and forty-seven were shipped, but the mortality was so great that fifty died from dysentery. Most of the immigrants are young and healthy. A vessel left for St. Lucia a day or two before the *Atlantic*, with five or six hundred people on board.—*New Era*, May 22.

#### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscription.
<i>London</i> .—Binns, Thomas .....	—	1 0 0
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**\*\* Erratum.** For Ann Rose, Coalbrookdale, £1 1s., as stated in our last Subscription list, read 10s. 6d.